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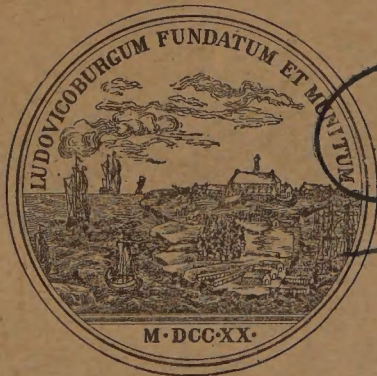
ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON

AND

OF ITS MEMORIALS OF THE FRENCH RÉGIME: WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL,
HISTORICAL, AND CRITICAL NOTES

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L. Shaw.
Glad B. Ay.

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY FATHER

WHO LOVED THE ISLAND WHERE HE LIVED FOR FIFTY YEARS
UNTIL HIS DEATH.

CAPE BRETON AND ITS MEMORIALS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

Since the beginning of the present century Cape Breton, once known as Ile Royale, has been to the world at large very little more than a mere geographical expression, and the importance which it possessed in the times when England and France were struggling for the supremacy in North America has been long since forgotten except by the students of history. In the present work it is the object of the writer, a native of Cape Breton, to record briefly the main facts in its history from the days of its discovery by European voyagers in the remote past down to the present time, when a stream of travel is already beginning to find its way to an island abounding with so many features of natural and historic interest. In the narrative of the days of the French *régime*, especially from 1740 to 1758, stress has been naturally laid on the important position Ile Royale once held with relation to New France and the old Thirteen Colonies. Maps and illustrations have been added to give completeness and clearness to the narrative. Many pages of critical and bibliographical notes are appended, with a view of relieving the main text of much historical matter chiefly interesting to the students of the past. In these notes there are references to all the literature which I have been able to find relating to the history, resources and industries of this valuable and interesting section of the Dominion of Canada.

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ERRATA.

Page 19, line 8—Omit [Race].

" 43, " 5—In note 2, for 1761 read 1751.

" 63, " 4—Insert *New* before "England."

" 66, " 4—From foot of text for *Abercrombie*, read *Abercromby*.

" 68, " 2— " " " insert after the word *carried*, "upwards of 12,000 men besides."

" 77, " 9—For *nine* read *eleven*.

" 80, " 3—From foot for *Wallis DesBarres*, read *Wallet DesBarres*.

" 98, note 2—For *the Ulloas*, read *De Ulloa's Voyage*.

I. THE HISTORY OF CAPE BRETON FROM ITS DISCOVERY UNTIL THE TREATY OF UTRECHT IN 1713.

“We have no title-deeds to house or lands
Owners and occupants of earlier dates
From graves forgotten stretch their dusty hands
And hold in mortmain still their old estates.”

The words here quoted from the poet Longfellow have more than a poetic meaning to one who studies the nomenclature of the island of Cape Breton in the light of the historic past. Not only the name of the island itself, but its bold headlands, its spacious bays, its broad estuaries and harbours, connect us in the present with those adventurous fishermen and mariners who explored its coasts and waters centuries ago. Basques, Bretons, Normans, Portuguese and Spaniards have made an impress on its geography which its continuous English occupation for a hundred and thirty years has failed to remove. Traditions of Norse voyagers hover around its shores, and we are carried into a realm of mist and shadow when we endeavour to solve the secrets of its past. It is quite probable that Biarne Heriulfsson, a son of one of the Icelandic settlers of Greenland, found himself off the coast of Cape Breton during his voyage of 986, when, attempting to join his father in his new home, he lost his course and was tossed by adverse winds into unknown waters where he saw a land, which appeared from the sea flat and covered with trees, and may have been some part of the southern coast of Cape Breton which presents features very different from those of the northeastern and northwestern coasts, so remarkable for their lofty headlands and mountains. Fourteen years later Leif Ericsson, a son of Eric the Red, an Icelandic jarl, who was the first coloniser of Greenland, made a voyage to find the lands of which Biarne had brought home vague reports. Learned writers have devoted themselves with much enthusiasm to the study of the sagas which are now generally admitted to show internal evidence that the brave adventurers of the north of Europe have a strong claim to the honour of having first visited the continent of America. But while these writers have given us ground for believing in the antiquity and authenticity of the sagas, they have not yet succeeded in satisfactorily solving the mysteries of these old manuscripts of the north and identifying beyond dispute the countries and places to which the Northmen gave a name. Labrador answers in a measure to the description of the dreary land which all the way from the sea as far as snowy mountains in the distance appeared one field of snow, and which the voyagers called Helluland on account of the “flat stones which they saw in that country of no advantages.” The vague description given of Markland, or forest-clad land, to which Leif came next,—a relatively level country, covered with trees, and having white sandy beaches—applies to

many parts of the southern coast of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, from the low island of Scatari, to Halifax harbour and even as far west as Cape Sable, when sighted by sailors in a passing ship. One learned searcher¹ into American antiquities, while exercising his ingenuity to trace the route of the Norse voyagers, ventures to go so far as to express the opinion—a dreadful heresy no doubt to some American scholars—that Cape Breton was the northern part of that Vinland to which Leif came at last, and where he and his companions made a temporary settlement. So far it must be admitted that the most thorough investigation made into this subject hardly bears out such a conclusion, but rather points to Cape Breton having been comprised in the indefinite description given of Markland,² and to some part of New England having been the land of vines and of sweet honey-dew, of which the travellers told such pleasant tales on their return to Greenland. A curious mound, or some rock with mysterious marks, a deep bay resembling the gloomy fiords of the Scandinavian lands, low sandy shores, or snow-capped hills, are all so many texts on which to build theories, and write elaborate treatises to connect the present with the story of the sagas; and one often rises thoroughly perplexed from the perusal of these laboured disquisitions of some of the students of times so enshrouded in mist. Be that as it may, the northern adventurers have left no memorials of their voyages on the shores of Cape Breton, and the historian in these days must be content with the conjecture that they were the first of European voyagers to see the eastern portions of the wide expanse of territory now known as the Dominion of Canada.

Neither does history record the exact time when the adventurous Basque and Breton fishermen first fished in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and anchored their clumsy vessels in the bays and harbours of the island which there is some reason to believe they visited even before the voyages of the Cabots to the continent of America. It is not often that we find evidence more conclusive in support of early exploration than that which connects the name of Baccalaos, the Basque for cod, with the countries in the gulf where that fish is found in such abundance. It requires little or no imagination to suppose that these brave Basque fishermen and sailors who, from time immemorial, have made their home on the deep, should, at last, have found their way to the waters of eastern America. We see the name of Baccalaos in the oldest maps of the sixteenth century, and it is claimed that the Cabots heard the name among the Indians of the lands which they visited at the close of the fifteenth century.³

In all probability the Cabots, John and Sebastian, were among the first Europeans after Bjarne and Leif Ericsson to coast along its shores. In a map of 1544, only discovered in Germany in 1843, and attributed to Sebastian Cabot, but not accepted by all historians as authentic, the northeastern point of the mainland of North America, presumably Cape North, is put down as “*prima tierra vista* ;” and there are not a few historical students who believe that this was actually the landfall seen by John Cabot in his first memorable voyage to this continent. In the controversy which has gone on for years as to the first land seen by Cabot and his son—whether the coast of Labrador,

¹ Professor Gustav Storm, in the ‘*Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*’ for 1888. See App. I to this work, where references are given to various writers on the Northmen and their voyages.

² “The more general opinion,” says Fiske, “*Discovery of America*,” i. 164, favours Cape Breton or Nova Scotia.

³ See App. V to this work for the origin of the name Baccalaos, and its extended and uncertain use in old maps of Eastern America.

or the northeastern cape of Cape Breton, or Cape Bonavista or some other headland on the eastern shores of Newfoundland—many pages of speculation and argument have been, and will probably continue to be advanced in support of these various theories; and the reader who wishes to come to some definite conclusion on this vexed subject only rises from the study of these learned disquisitions with the feeling that a great mass of knowledge has been devoted to very little purpose except that purpose be to leave the question still open, and give employment to learned antiquarians for all time to come. One may, however, easily arrive at the conclusion, after a perusal of these contradictory views of



East coast of North America, from the Sebastian Cabot mappe monde, 1544.

the Cabot voyages to Eastern America, that the claim of Cape North or of some other part of the eastern coast of Cape Breton to have been the landfall of Cabot—the prima tierra vista—is as strong as the claim of any part of Labrador or Newfoundland, to the same distinction. Indeed unless we are prepared to reject the map of 1544 as a fabrication—and certainly the evidence on the whole is to the contrary—we should give the island of Cape Breton the benefit of the doubt and believe that it was the first land that

John Cabot and his son saw in America early in the morning towards the last of June—without doubt in 1497—when they had made their way from Bristol to the unknown countries of the West. The northern part of Cape Breton in many respects corresponds with the general features of the description given of the new land, of its inhabitants, of its animals, and of its fisheries, in the legend or inscription¹ on the map in question—a legend which has also given rise to much speculation as to its authorship and authenticity, but which nevertheless must be taken into the account unless we ignore the document in its entirety. The people clothed in the skins of animals—that the voyagers saw on the shore—were probably the Micmacs who were a coast tribe, and must have frequented the northern parts of Cape Breton in considerable numbers in early times on account of the abundance of game. The great deer—*cieuros muy grâdes como cauallos*—were no doubt the moose which in great numbers roamed among the hilly fastnesses and fed on the barrens—the *tierra muy steril*—of northern Cape Breton until they have been in the course of time almost exterminated by reckless hunters. The advocates of the claim of Labrador argue that the mention of the appearance of white bears in this new found land of Cabot is in favour of their contention, but it is not at all unlikely that these animals frequented the northern coast of Cape Breton in those early times when the island contained great numbers of wild creatures, many of which have entirely disappeared with the progress of settlement. It is a powerful fact in support of the Cape Breton theory that, in a work written by one Pichon on the island of Cape Breton two centuries and a half later than the Cabot voyages he tells us in his chapter on the natural features of the country that the bears of Cape Breton and of St. John are “much the same as those in Europe, and some of them are white”—a statement which is almost conclusive on the point at issue.² It is quite probable too, that the ice-floes that have always come down

¹ In App. II to this work will be found the Spanish inscription on the supposed Sebastian Cabot *mappe monde*, but for the information of the reader the literal translation is given here: “No. 8. This land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, M.CCCC.XCIII., on the 24th of June in the morning, which country they called ‘*prima tierra vista*,’ and a large island over against the said land they named the island of St. John because they discovered it on the same day. The inhabitants wear skins of animals, use in their battles bows, arrows, lances, darts, wooden clubs and slings. The soil is very barren, and there are many white bears and stags as large as horses, and many other beasts; likewise great quantities of fish, pike, salmon, soles as long as a yard, and many other sorts, besides a great abundance of the kind called *baccalaos*. There are also in the same land hawks as black as ravens, eagles, partridges, redpoles, and many other birds of various descriptions.” M.CCCC.XCIII. is an error, corrected by joining the first two letters after XC at the bottom, thus making a V, and M.CCCC.XCVII. Fiske, “Dis. of Am.,” ii. 5, 10.

² White bears in early times were probably found in considerable numbers in the northeastern parts of Canada. Sagard, “*Histoire du Canada et Voyages*” (i. 147, ii. 682, ed. of 1866, Paris), tells us that in the time (1633-4) he wrote his work that “they inhabited not only the island of Anticosti, but also the country at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, which was frequented by very few Indians, but the places where they are generally found is among the high mountains and very cold countries.” See also Champlain’s works, Abbé Laverdière’s ed., iv. 1088. The Montagnais Indians call the island “*Natascoueh*,” which means the place where they take bears. *Ib.*, i. 67, note by Abbé Laverdière. The mountainous, wild district of northern Cape Breton would most likely centuries ago be the most southerly limit of these animals. The fact that it is only on the northern parts of Labrador they are now seen, and hardly at all on the Atlantic sea-board of that dreary region, shows how their habitat has receded north in the course of several centuries since Cabot entered the Gulf.

Many animals that formerly existed in the Gulf have disappeared within a century or two. Dr. Patterson in a paper on the Magdalen Islands (‘*Trans. of the Nova Scotia Inst. of Science*,’ Jan. 1891), shows that the walrus which was once found in such numbers on their shores—a place is still called *Vache de Marine*—is now practically extinct. The same animal was found on the southern shores of Cape Breton and on Sable Island.

the gulf even as late as June from the great icefields of the north, brought with them bears to the northern shores of Cape Breton in days when they were quite common enough from the entrance of the St. Lawrence to the Straits of Belle Isle and beyond. Much speculation has been indulged in whether Prince Edward Island was the island adjacent to the new found land and named St. John by Cabot in honour of the Saint on whose festival he discovered it. An argument, however, might be advanced in favour of the well-known cape, from which the island of Cape Breton derives its present name, having been actually the first landfall of Cabot in American waters. All the European sailors of old times naturally made for this easily reached landfall when they came to the Gulf,¹ and eventually it became like Cape Race, one of the most important land-marks in the waters of eastern America. Quite close to this noted cape, in fact adjacent to it and in this respect answering to the description in the legend,—*una isla grâde que esta par la dha tierra*—is the barren, triangular island of Scatari, which in form much more resembles the island given in the supposed *mappe monde* of Sebastian Cabot than does the present Prince Edward Island. But against this theory, which certainly has some arguments in its support, must be placed the fact that the position of Scatari, or in other words its relation to Cape Breton, does not correspond to that given to St. John's Island on the map. As long as we accept the map as authentic, and its legends as entitled to credence, we must give the priority to Cape North and Prince Edward Island.² Without dwelling further on the point and perhaps adding to the perplexities of a sufficiently intricate subject, we may come to one conclusion in which all will agree, that the voyages of the Cabots commenced a new era in the history of North America. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese discovered Labrador to which they gave a name, and probably explored a considerable portion of the coasts of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, and there are even those who in their enthusiasm advance the theory that these European voyagers were the first to enter the Saint Lawrence;³ but whilst there is no doubt that they sailed through the straits of Belle Isle and visited parts of the gulf of Saint Lawrence, including Cape Breton, many years before Jacques Cartier found his way to the same waters, no mere speculation can diminish the fame of the latter as the discoverer of the noble country which must be always associated with the name of the bold sailor of Saint Malo. As the Cabots laid the foundation of the claim of England to a large portion of the North American continent from Cape Breton to Florida, so Cartier gave to France the valley of the Saint Lawrence, and prepared the way for the courageous

¹ Sir Humphrey Gilbert, for instance; see *infra*, sec. XI.

² See App. II to this work, where references are given to the principal authors who have made the Cabot voyages their special study, and have with more or less success worked out their respective theories.

Dr. Kohl, in his work on the Discovery of Maine ('Hist. Soc. Coll., Portland,' 1869), expresses the opinion that the "prima vista" of the Cabots "would not probably have been the northern point of Cape Breton but the small island of St. Paul near it which is generally the first land made by sailors entering the Gulf of St. Lawrence." On the contrary, if "prima vista" was not the cape from which the island is named and generally the first point made in old times, it was most likely Cape North, and not St. Paul, which is ten miles distant in a direction quite opposite from the course clearly taken by John Cabot. After he sighted the northern head of the island, he made next for St. John island according to the inscription on the *mappe monde*. If he entered the southern entrance of the Gulf, he must have made either Scatari or Cape Breton or Cape North—certainly the evidence so far as it goes sustains the theory that his course took him to the latter point.

³ For an able statement of the Portuguese claim, see Rev. Dr. Patterson's paper in the 'Trans Roy. Soc. of Can., (1890), vol. viii, sec. 2. Also, 'Magazine of American History' for May, 1891. See App. III to this work.

Frenchman of Brouage who, a few decades later, made on the heights of Quebec the commencement of that dependency which France, in her ambition, hoped would develop until it could dominate the whole continent of North America.

Though it is not likely now that the true course of the Cabots in their first voyage to eastern America and the actual locality of "Prima Vista" will ever be cleared up to the satisfaction of all students of history, there is no doubt whatever that Jacques Cartier, on his return from his second voyage in 1535-6 to Canada, discovered the passage to the Atlantic between Cape Breton and Newfoundland, and sighted the bold headlands and picturesque cliffs of the northern part of the former island. It is probable that he gave the name of Lorraine to the cape which in the course of two centuries has become Cape North, aptly called "the watch-tower of the gulf."¹ We are told in the accounts of his voyage that he saw another cape "towards the south," and gave it the name of St. Paul's, and although there is much difference of opinion as to its exact situation, the weight of authority goes to show that reference is made to a point on the eastern coast of the island to the south of Cape North, assuming the latter to be Cape Lorraine. It is not unlikely that Cartier saw in the distance the bold headland which in later times was Smoky Cape (Cap Enfumé), on account of the cloud of mist which so often envelopes this storm-swept landmark of the gulf.² It does not appear, however, that Cartier ever landed on the coast of Cape Breton, and the statement that is found in some books that he built a fort and lived one winter on the island has no foundation in fact. The same assertion has been made of his friend and patron, the Lord of Roberval, who was chosen by the King of France to settle the new country discovered by the sailor of St. Malo. It is now well established that Cape Breton was mistaken by some writers for Cap Rouge, near Quebec, where both Cartier and Roberval—the former in 1541, and the latter in 1542—erected forts for the defence of the infant settlement.³

We have abundant evidence to show that, during the greater part of the sixteenth century, French, Spanish and Portuguese fishermen probably frequented the coast of Cape Breton, but it was not until the close of that century that English vessels were found in any number engaged in the fisheries of the gulf. It is now claimed that Baron de Léry's abortive effort of 1518 to establish a settlement was made at Cape Breton, and not at Sable Island, as generally supposed, but this is an entire mistake.⁴ The Portuguese made an attempt in 1521 to settle a colony on the coast of Cape Breton, and the best authority at hand seems to point to the little bay of Inganiche, on the picturesque northeastern shore, as the site of the infant settlement, which Champlain tells us was very soon deserted on account of the rigorous and inclement climate.⁵ But while Spaniard and Portuguese ventured into the bays and rivers of the island, and in all probability attempted to establish temporary posts for trading and fishing purposes, they have not given to Cape Breton the name it bears. The origin of this name is even a matter of controversy between those who claim the Basques or the Bretons to have been the discoverers of the island. Some claim that

¹ Judge Haliburton, in his "History of Nova Scotia," ii. 231.

² See App. VII to this work, where reasons are given at some length for the opinions set forth in the text.

³ See App. VII (last paragraph) to this work.

⁴ Fiske ("Disc. of Am.," ii. 492, n) cites Le Tac, "Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France," but the references (pp. 40, 57) are unmistakably to Sable Island.

⁵ See App. VIII (4) to this work.

it was the Basque fishermen who first made the cape¹ on the eastern coast, and named it after a Cape Breton in that very Basque country which, in the earliest times of which there is any record, sent many adventurous sailors to Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. On the other hand, it is urged that the name is only a memorial of the voyages of the Breton and Norman sailors and fishermen of Honfleur, Dieppe and St. Malo, who sailed in company to eastern America even before the days of Columbus.² In support of the Breton claim we find on the oldest maps of the sixteenth century that the cape is described as Cap de Bretton, Cap aux Bretons, Cavo de Bretonni, and the mainland, afterwards Acadie, as the Terre aux Bretons, or Terra de los Bretones, or Terra de Breto. In a Portuguese portolano map, the date of which is believed to be either 1514 or 1520, there is a country described in Portuguese as "the land discovered by the Bretons." On the authority of a "great French captain," supposed to be Jean Parmentier of Dieppe, whose narrative is credited to 1539, the Breton and Norman voyagers are described as having visited the waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence as early as 1504, and given the well-known headland of the island its present name. The entrance of the gulf, between Cape Breton and Newfoundland, is described in Allefonsce's map of 1544-5 as "L'Entrée des Bretons." In view of the vagueness of the Basque theory, which is chiefly supported by the fact of the existence of a Cape Breton on the southeastern coast of France, we can hardly fail to come to the conclusion that the Bretons gave to the cape the name it has always borne. Indeed we may well believe that the two capes in France and America owe their same name to these very adventurous mariners, who have from immemorial times hovered off the coasts or anchored in the harbours of the Bay of Biscay and of the Gulf of St. Lawrence as well.

But while there is every reason to believe that the cape was named early in the sixteenth century, we have no authentic record of the exact date when the island itself was called after its most eastern headland. Leaving the realms of mere speculation, which only bewilders and never satisfies a practical historian, we must content ourselves with the fact that the name of Cape Breton has always clung to the island so long frequented by Basque and Breton fishermen. During the first forty years and later in the sixteenth century the name is found on old maps which have come down to us.³ It is given either to the most eastern point of the mainland, a region described as *Terre des Bretons* or *Terra de Breto*, according to the nationality of the map-maker, or to a little island adjoining. It is interesting to note to how many makers of the old maps of the Gulf of St. Lawrence the existence of an island occupying the present position of Cape Breton appears to have been

¹ "Cape Breton, better known to the mariners of the coast by the name of Port Novy Land, from the small adjacent islet of Puerto Nuevo, is the most eastern and also the lowest part of the coast. It is singular that this point, exposed to the continual fretting, dashing and ebullition of this peculiarly restless sea, and placed at the mercy of every storm that sweeps the Atlantic, should yet bear so little evidence of its power. The firm materials of its composition seem scarcely to have been worn by the effects of centuries; and though so low, bold water forming its margin, instead of reefs of scattered rocks and other marks of ruin, is a proof of its unbroken strength." Haliburton, "History of Nova Scotia" (Halifax, N. S., 1829), ii. 213-214. Some call the island in question Porto Novo, which would indicate a Portuguese origin.

² See App. VI (last paragraph) to this work.

³ See App. VI to this work, where a summary is given of the old maps on which Cape Breton as a cape or island is marked. Extracts are also given in App. VII and VIII from the accounts of the voyages of Cartier, Champlain, Bellinger (1583), Sylvester Wyett (1594), Charles Leigh (1597), Nicolas Denys (1672), in which mention is made of the island and the cape from which it was eventually named.

known. In a map of 1544-45 by Allefonsce, who accompanied Roberval to Canada as his pilot in 1541, and was the author of a well-known work on cosmography, the island of Cape Breton is roughly defined, and the entrance to the gulf, as I have previously stated, is distinguished as the *Entrée des Bretons*. In the later map of Mercator, which shows a distinct advance in cartography and in the knowledge of these waters, evidence is given of the existence of a large island on the eastern coast, although the name itself is still only affixed to one of its capes. Year by year, however, as the maps of the sixteenth century clearly show, especially after Cartier's famous voyages, a knowledge of the coast lines of the eastern parts of North America was steadily growing, and from the coming of Champlain to this continent we must date the commencement of a new era in the colonization and the geography of America. His map of 1612, with all its defects, gives the most accurate description of the general features of Cape Breton which had appeared to that time. Although no name is given to the whole island, its leading natural characteristics, especially the great arm of the sea which nearly divides it into two parts, the large island on its southwestern coast, afterwards known as Isle Madame, English Harbour, now Louisbourg, Inganiche and its northern cape, Saint Loran, now probably Cape North, are delineated with some degree of correctness. The Strait of Canseau is defined, but it is distinguished in a note as the *Passage du Glas*, whilst Cançeau, from which it subsequently took its name, is accurately placed on the southeastern shore of Acadie or Nova Scotia. In Champlain's later map of 1632 the general features of the island are better still defined than in the former case, and the Strait of Canseau is given the name which it has generally borne, while the rocky islet of St Paul, which was incorrectly placed in 1612, begins to find its proper geographical position. But even on this later map the island is not given the general name of Cape Breton, though the present Prince Edward Island is called St. Jean. In fact, it is not clear when the name of Cape Breton was given by geographers to the whole island. As previously stated, the name of the land of the Bretons was for many years, in the oldest maps, given to a large ill-defined country which was afterwards known as Acadie. In L'Escarbot's map of 1609, which is by no means so accurate as Champlain's of three years' later, the island is described as Bacaillos, the Basque term which was indifferently applied during the previous hundred years to Newfoundland and Labrador and the countries generally on the gulf where the cod is most plentiful, and which in these later times has disappeared from those lands and now clings only to an islet off Conception Bay, latitude $48^{\circ} 6''$, and to a cape on the western coast of Nova Scotia.¹ Champlain, writing in 1603, calls Cape Breton the island of Saint Laurent, "where," he adds, "is *le cap Breton* and where a nation of savages called the Sourequois [Micmacs] pass the winter." In his account of his later voyages, however, he writes of the island of Cape Breton (*île du cap Breton*). It would seem that the name was not well established for some time, but that it gradually became the custom to apply the name of the cape to the island itself. We see that is the case in the accounts given of two voyages made by two English vessels in 1594 and 1597, in which there is a distinct reference made to the "Island of Cape Breton." A French writer² of later times tells us that the island was "first of all called the Isle du Cap,³ and afterwards the English Harbour,"

¹ See App. V to this work.

² Pichon *alias* Tyrell, author of a memoir of Cape Breton. See App. IX to this work, where the curious history of this erratic person is briefly told.

³ In Herman Moll's Atlas (London, 1715-20) Cape Breton is called Gaspey Island. See map 4 showing north parts of America claimed by France.

the last being the old name of Louisbourg, which, in Champlain's time and many years later, was the favourite resort of English fishermen. It was in the reign of Elizabeth that Englishmen began to show that spirit of maritime enterprise which was afterwards to have such remarkable results in later times by the establishment of the greatest colonial empire which the world has ever seen. In the course of the sixteenth century, when the rich fisheries of Newfoundland and the islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence became known throughout Europe, English fishermen ventured into the waters which had long been the resort of the vessels of France, Portugal and Spain, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century there were probably over two hundred English craft of various sizes engaged in this great industry. Louisbourg, easy of access from the ocean, invited the English, at an early date, to make it their port of call. The Spaniards preferred the present harbour of Sydney, which is even yet known as Spanish River, and the French for many years sought shelter within the safe haven of St. Anne's, embosomed in the hills of the northeastern coast of the island.

The discoveries of Verrazano in 1524 and of Jacques Cartier in 1535 gave France a claim to Acadie, Cape Breton and Canada. England's title came from the voyages of the Cabots. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a relative of the bold and chivalrous Raleigh, was the first Englishman of note who ventured, towards the close of the sixteenth century, to the shores of Newfoundland and took possession of the island in the name of Elizabeth, but his expedition had no other results than a barren assertion of a claim of sovereignty¹ and his tragic death at sea on his return to Europe. The Marquis de la Roche, a little later in the same century, made an abortive attempt to establish a settlement in the new domain which France now began to claim in America, but his hopes perished in the relentless sands of Sable Island. It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that either France or England was able to make a permanent establishment in the new world. Raleigh, above all other Englishmen of his time, saw that fame and fortune were to be won in America, but his first attempt to found a little colony in Carolina entirely failed, and the historian for centuries since has speculated on the fate of the unhappy people who landed in 1587 on Roanoke Island.² The attempts of Sieur Chauvin and Sieur Aymer de Chastes to colonize New France were equally unfortunate, and the seventeenth century opened without a single European settlement on the whole coast of North America except the Spanish post of St. Augustine at the extreme point of the peninsula of Florida. At one time, indeed, it seemed as if the lilies of France would have floated over that southern region and Protestants would have found in those times of oppression

¹ Sir Humphrey Gilbert, on the 5th of August, 1583, in the harbour of St. John's, Newfoundland, "summoned the merchants and masters, both English and strangers [of the ships in port] to be present at his taking possession of those countries. Before whom openly was read and interpreted unto the strangers his commission, by virtue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of St. John, and 200 leagues every way, invested the Queene's Majestie with the title and dignite thereof, had delivered unto him (after the custome of England) a rod and a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for ever." See report of Mr. Edward Haies, gentleman, and principall actor in the same voyage," Hakluyt's Collection (Edmund Goldsmid's ed., Edinburgh, 1889), vol. xii, p. 337. Sir Humphrey does not appear to have entered any port or landed in Cape Breton, if indeed he ever made the stcoa. See *infra*, sec. XI, for a claim that one of his vessels was wrecked in Louisbourg harbour.

² See an interesting paper, "The Lost Colony of Roanoke: its Fate and Survival," by Professor S. B. Weeks, in the Papers of the American Historical Association, 1891; also, in Mag. of Am. Hist. for Feb., 1891.

a refuge from the treachery and bigotry of kings and priests in Europe, but the Huguenot settlements of Ribaut and Laudonnière were soon destroyed by the greed and fanaticism of the false Spaniard, and, when a new century dawned, the Spanish flag was the only sign of European dominion from the Gulf of Mexico to the frozen regions of the north.

During the first decade of the seventeenth century there happened three remarkable events in the history of the continent of America. In the western part of Nova Scotia, then Acadie or Cadie, on the banks of a beautiful basin where the tumultuous tides of the Bay of Fundy ebb and flow, we see a sleepy old town which recalls another world and another century. In the June days the air is redolent with the perfume of the apple-blossom and the hawthorn, the bells of ox-teams tinkle in the quiet streets, and the whole town bears the aspect of a dignified old age, which, having had its share of the world's excitement, now only asks to be left alone to spend the remainder of its years in placid ease. There it was, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Sieur de Monts and his French compatriots laid the foundation of the old settlement of Port Royal, which was long the capital of Acadie and the beginning of the French *régime* in the great region of New France. Two years later, in 1607, a little colony of English ventured into Virginia, and although in these days the only vestiges of that settlement are a few tombstones and grassy mounds, which are themselves rapidly disappearing beneath the encroachment of the tides, the site of Jamestown must ever be interesting to the historian and the statesman as the commencement of that remarkable experiment of colonization which has established a federal union of over sixty-four millions of people, distinguished for their energy, their enterprise, and their capacity for self-government. Only a year later, in 1608, Champlain, sailor, explorer and statesman, founded the colony of Canada on those picturesque heights on which, in the course of nearly three centuries, a city has grown, so remarkable for its natural beauty, its capacity for defence, and its memorials of the history of France in America.

The first decade of the seventeenth century will ever be memorable for the foundation of that "Old Dominion" which must receive honourable mention as the pioneer colony in the plantations of English America, and for the genesis of that new Dominion which, two centuries and a half after the settlement of Quebec, was to stretch between two oceans, and comprise an area of territory almost as great as that of the nation which was born at Jamestown in 1607.

Port Royal, known in later times as Annapolis, in honour of a not very brilliant English queen, is therefore the first permanent settlement made by Europeans between Florida and the Arctic regions. Nova Scotia and Cape Breton have the oldest history of any part of the Dominion of Canada;¹ for there is little doubt that their shores were visited by the Norsemen, the Basques and Bretons, the Cabots and the Portuguese in the course of those adventurous voyages whose dim traditions and uncertain records have long perplexed, and must continue to perplex, the students of the ancient annals and cartography of this continent. Indeed there much reason for the theory, to which I have previously referred, that John Cabot first made one of the capes of the island; but without dwelling again on this vexed question, it is sufficient to know that Cape Breton and Acadie or

¹ "As early as 1504 the fishermen of these latter people [Bretons and Normans] seem to have been on the northern coasts, and we owe to them the name of Cape Breton, which is thought to be the oldest French name in our American geography." Justin Winsor, "Christopher Columbus," p. 555.

Cadie, included in the mysterious regions of Norumbega or Norembeque, or Arambec,¹ or Terre des Bretons, were visited by Europeans long before the valley of the St. Lawrence was discovered by the Breton sailor. Indeed it is contended that the first attempt at European settlement in Canada was on the island of Cape Breton—at St. Peter's or Inganiche; but we need not dwell on this interesting suggestion of the antiquarian, except to say that the Portuguese had no influence whatever on the colonization of the eastern provinces of Canada, and the old town of Annapolis may always point with pride to its grassy hillocks and willow-stumps as so many relics of the days of the French *régime*.

It is in the letters-patent and commission given in 1603 by Henry IV of France and Navarre to Sieur de Monts that we find the first mention of Acadie, which is also described as Cadie, obviously a Micmac or Souriquois affix used in connection with other words to describe the natural characteristics of a place or locality (*ākāde*). For instance, Numachwakāde is a place where fish is plentiful; Anagwakāde is White Point; Segubunakāde or Shubenacādie is the place where a root known as the ground nut or Indian potato grows; and so on with any number of places in the old home of the Micmac Indians.² The royal papers just mentioned give the French a jurisdiction over "the whole coast of Acadie, the lands of Cape Breton (du Cap Breton), the bays of St. Clair and Chaleurs, the islands of Percé, Gaspey, Mettan [Matane], Tadousac and the river of Canada." Cape Breton, which is not definitely mentioned as an island, but is called after its cape, long remained in obscurity, and it is Port Royal that alone for many years attracted the attention of the historian. The record of this little post in the Bay of Fundy is the record of a never ending conflict between the English and the French for the dominion of Acadie.

According as the New England colonies increased in population, the French possession of Acadie was regarded by them as a constant menace, and all their efforts were, time and again, for more than a century, directed towards driving the French from the country. After the foundation of Quebec by Champlain, Canada became the favourite colony of France, and Acadie obtained a very small degree of recognition from the parent state. At no time, indeed, in her history did she evoke that interest and attention from the French king and people that would have enabled the struggling colonists eventually to hold their own against the energetic and sturdy New Englanders. In 1613 Port Royal surrendered to an English adventurer named Captain Argall, and Acadie remained in the possession of England until the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, when it was restored to France with all the countries and places which Great Britain held in New France. While Acadie was occupied by England, a Scotch gentleman, Sir William Alexander, afterwards the Earl of Stirling, obtained a grant from King James of the country which was now called Nova Scotia, as well as of New Brunswick and St. John's Island, of a part of Lower Canada and also of Cape Breton, which was called Baccalaos in his patent; an indication that the present name was not yet generally recognized in Europe. This patent is chiefly interesting to us from the fact that it gave him the right to establish settlements within his grant, to which was appended the title of baronet. In these prosaic, practical days, when everything is brought—too much so in some cases—to the test of commercial value,

¹ See *infra*, sec. IX, and App. IV, for references to a probable survival of this curious name on the southeastern coast of Cape Breton, in the immediate vicinity of Louisbourg.

² See App. XIII to this work for a list of Indian compound words in support of the assertion in the text.

we recall with some amusement the efforts of men in times, when the virgin forest held the mastery in America, to reproduce the titles and trappings of the old world and create a new *noblesse* to gratify the cravings of ambition which could not be satisfied in Europe. On the banks of the St. Lawrence, seigniors held estates of princely magnitude and imitated the feudal customs of their old homes across the sea. On the Hudson, patroons assumed the dignity of great manorial lords, and in South Carolina an English philosopher attempted to create *grandees* under the high-sounding names of lords-palatine, landgraves and caciques. Even in the little island of Prince Edward, when it had passed away from its first French proprietors, Englishmen had their ambition to become lords paramount, manorial lords and barons.¹ In Acadie, the dignity which was to be attached to grants of land for the encouragement of settlement never took root, and though the title has been long retained in Scottish families as a purely honorary distinction, it has never had since the days of Stirling any connection with the province from which it was named more than two hundred and sixty years ago.²

One of the persons who obtained such a right was Lord Ochiltree, who built a fort in 1629 at Baleine, a small port to the northeast of Louisbourg, with the object of colonizing that section of Cape Breton, but he was very soon forced to leave the place by a number of Frenchmen under the leadership of a Captain Daniel, who claimed that the Scotch nobleman was a trespasser on the territory of France. After destroying the English post, the same Captain Daniel built a fort and commenced a settlement at St. Anne's,³ then called Great Cibou,⁴ by the savages. This first attempt to found a French colony on the northeastern coast of Cape Breton was unsuccessful after a few years of struggle. The Jesuit mission, which is said to have existed there in 1634, was withdrawn and the settlement almost deserted two or three years later, when an energetic Frenchman came to the island and established a post in the same place to carry on the fisheries.

The history of Acadie from 1632 to 1713, when it became a permanent possession of England, is one of a never-ceasing contest between the rival chiefs, La Tour and Char-nisay, for the supremacy in the country where both of them claimed to have rights. New Scotland, in those days, in fact, was the scene of such feuds as kept rival chieftains for centuries in a state of constant warfare amid the glens and mountains of old Scotland. In Cape Breton an enterprising Frenchman of the name of Nicholas Denys, Sieur de Fron-sac, a native of Tours, attempted to establish himself at St. Peter's, on the isthmus between the sea and the Bras d'Or lake, on the southwestern extremity of the island. For many years he also built trading posts of some importance at St. Anne's on the eastern coast of Cape Breton, at Chedabouctou Bay (now Guysboro), and at Miscou on the coast of New Brunswick; but he, too, suffered from the greed and lawlessness of rivals. It was easy enough, in those times, to obtain grants of land and the right to trade in those countries from the authorities in France, who knew nothing of the geography of the new

¹ See Campbell's "History of Prince Edward Island" (Charlottetown, 1875) 20-12; Bourinot, "Local Government in Canada," Johns Hopkins "Un. Studies," Baltimore, 1887.

² Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia" (i. 68-69) gives a description of the insignia of the order.

³ Ferland, "Cours d'Histoire du Canada," i. 259. This historian (i. 238) falls into the error of confusing Lord Ochiltree's fort at Baleine with the one which Daniel subsequently built at St. Anne's. Murdoch, in his "History of Nova Scotia," (i. 72) also makes the mistake of placing Ochiltree's fort at St. Anne's. See Brown, "History of Cape Breton," pp. 74-84; Champlain, iv. 1283-8.

⁴ See *infra*, sec. IX, for meaning of this Micmac word.

world, and took little or no pains to ascertain whether they might not interfere with previous charters. One Le Borgne, who was a creditor of Charnisay, the former rival of La Tour and governor of Acadie, professed to have obtained authority from the parliament of Paris to take possession of all his debtor's property in the colony. He claimed that Denys was an intruder on the domain over which Charnisay had lordship, and in a most high-handed manner took possession of all the property owned by the former at St. Peter's. On appealing to France, Denys obtained a patent in 1654 from the king, appointing him governor of the extensive country extending from Cape Cançeau to Cape Rosiers [Race], Newfoundland, Cape Breton, St. John and other adjacent islands. Hardly had he obtained this redress from the authorities in France, to whom he at once appealed, than he found himself harassed by the lawless conduct of another commercial rival named Giraudière, who claimed to have received from the Company of New France a grant of the coast in Acadie, which included Denys's concession and fort at Guysboro'. The Canadian Company subsequently repudiated Giraudière's acts and revoked their grant to him, but Denys received no compensation for the losses which he suffered at Chedabouctou from his rival's treachery and falsehood. He was compelled to give up his post in Acadie, and to retire to Cape Breton, but even here his misfortunes followed him. At last, when his fort at St. Pierre was destroyed by fire, he retired altogether from the island to the Bay of Chaleurs, probably before 1669, and is believed to have returned to France either in 1671 or 1672, disheartened and worn out by his struggles in America.¹

Whilst in his native country, Denys published the first book which refers at any length to Cape Breton since its discovery, and gives us some interesting information respecting the natural features of those parts of the island with which he was best

¹ Mr. Hannay, in his history of Acadie, gives a well-written account of this memorable feud which lasted for many years in the early days of Nova Scotia, but he appears to have fallen into some slight errors with respect to Denys and his difficulties with Le Borgne. He tells us (p. 187) that Charnisay broke up Denys's establishment in Cape Breton, whereas it was Le Borgne who laid claim to all the former's rights in Acadie as stated above. When Denys first came to Acadie he established a shore fishery at Rossignol (Liverpool) in partnership with De Razilly, then living at La Have, and a merchant of Auray, in Bretagne (Murdoch, *Hist. of N. S.*, i. 87; Denys, *Amérique Septentrionale*, i. 86). On account of the loss of his principal vessel he appears to have left Rossignol and established himself in the vicinity of Razilly's fort with the intention of carrying on a lumbering business, but on the death of Razilly, Charnisay obtained a transfer in his favour of all the latter's estates (Murdoch, i. 96) and forced Denys to abandon his enterprise in disgust (Denys, i. 94-104). Denys then established himself in Cape Breton, and after some time was attacked by Le Borgne. Hannay also informs us (p. 194) that the latter destroyed Denys's establishment at La Have in Nova Scotia, but this does not seem accurate. It appears that after Denys went to Cape Breton Charnisay or D'Aulnay, as he is indifferently called, removed the inhabitants of La Have to Port Royal, and according to a French Canadian historian they were the beginning of the French Acadian race (Ferland, i. 351, n.; Murdoch, i. 103, 114; Denys, 4). La Have, it seems, was again settled after Charnisay had removed the original inhabitants, and Le Borgne's party, after their attack on Denys in Cape Breton, and on their way to Port Royal with him as a prisoner, destroyed the houses, not because Denys had any claim to them, but apparently because Le Borgne did not recognize the right of the new people to occupy the place. (Murdoch, i. 125; Denys, i. 6.) Subsequently Denys obtained his liberty and acknowledgments of his rights, while Le Borgne's son took possession of La Have and constructed a fort of timber for the purpose of carrying on business at that point (*Ibid.*, i. 10). The letters-patent of 1654, defining Denys's limit of government (Brown, 92, Quebec Doc., i. 141) speak of Charnisay having expelled him from his forts, but this must be a mistake for Le Borgne or a reference to Charnisay having driven Denys from La Have. Denys, however, is remarkably obscure in narrating even the facts of his own history, and it is easy to understand why Brown, Hannay and others are often perplexed and misled. I have endeavoured to study out the facts with the results as I have given them above—hesitatingly, I admit.

acquainted.¹ But whenever he takes up subjects of which he has no personal knowledge, his statements are very perplexing on account of their vagueness. We can see throughout the book, however, that he had much confidence in the capabilities of the island, and deeply regretted that his misfortunes had prevented him from carrying on the enterprises which he had in view for its settlement and development. During his residence in Cape Breton, he tilled not only the land around his post at St. Pierre, but had a fine settlement at St. Anne's, where he cultivated even fruit successfully. Consequently he was able to write with some knowledge of the resources of Cape Breton. His departure was a serious blow to the island, which remained for years neglected by his countrymen. Not a single European settlement was made within its limits until the first years of the eighteenth century, while the total population of Acadie itself did not reach a thousand souls, including the little garrison at Port Royal. Denys appears to have been in Quebec in 1679, for there is documentary evidence² to show that he was blind at that time and was pressing his claims for consideration on the government and asking an appointment of master of forests for his son, very likely the father of that M. de la Ronde Denys, whose name sometimes occurs in the later records of the island when Louisbourg was founded and Isle Royale became at last a valued possession of France.³

II. CAPE BRETON AS ILE ROYALE, AND THE FOUNDATION OF LOUISBOURG.

During the seventeenth century it was a question whether Acadie was destined to be an English or a French colony. At times the red cross of England, and at others the Bourbon lilies were raised over the little fort at Port Royal, and it was not until the victories of Marlborough had humbled the pride of the great monarch, and crushed the armies of France at Blenheim, Ramilies and Oudenarde, that the country now known as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, passed forever into the possession of England. The treaty of Utrecht⁴ was the first check given to France in her designs to colonize America

¹ See App. IX (first paragraph) to this work, for a bibliographical notice of this very rare book. I give also, in App. VIII, a translation of the chapter referring to the island specially, as it has never before been printed in English. It shows that Denys had only a superficial acquaintance with the geographical and natural features of the island generally. His knowledge was confined to St. Peter's, the Labrador and the coast between Inganiche and Cape North.

² Quebec Documents, i. 273.

³ M. de la Ronde Denys, grandson of the old governor, a captain of infantry, who took part in the settlement of Cape Breton in 1713, sent a description in that year to the French minister having charge of the colonies, in which he calls St. Anne's the finest harbour in the world, and presses its advantages over any that Louisbourg could offer as the chief port and fortified place. "My devoted grandfather," he wrote, "had a fort there, the remains of which are yet to be seen, and the Indians tell us that he raised the finest grain there and we have likewise seen the fields which he used to till; and there are to be seen in the place very fine apple trees, from which we have eaten very good fruit for the season. We see by experience, my lord, that New England, which is not worth a tenth part of Cape Breton, how that colony flourishes; for I know of certain knowledge that there are built in the county of Boston, every year, more than 1500 vessels, from 15 tons up to 800 tons burthen. One sees that there is nothing to hinder us doing the same thing. We are deficient in nothing required." It is quite true that when we look at Cape Breton, with its unrivalled situation for the successful prosecution of the fisheries, its remarkable mines of bituminous coal, and its relation to the rest of the continent, we can well believe that its natural advantages are far superior to those of the New England States; but its want of wealth, capital and enterprise and of connection for many years with a great and prosperous country like that to the back of New England, have kept the island always in a very inferior position until the present, when its prospects at last seem brighter.

⁴ For text of this treaty so far as it relates to Cape Breton, see App. XVI to this work.

and the inauguration of that series of victories which ended at last in driving her entirely from the continent. "At the time of the Armada," says an English historian, "we saw England entering the race for the first time; at Utrecht, England wins the race. . . . The positive gains of England were Acadie in Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland surrendered by France, and the Assiento compact granted by Spain. In other words, the first step was taken towards the destruction of greater France by depriving her of one of her three settlements of Acadie, Canada and Louisiana, in North America. From that moment the rivalry in America is between France and England. . . . The decisive event of it is the Seven Years' War and the new position given to England by the treaty of Paris in 1762. Here is the culminating point of English power in the eighteenth century; nay relatively to other states, England has never since been so great."¹

Cape Breton, from this time forward, commenced to be an influential factor in the affairs of New France. Before the close of the war and the cession of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to England, the attention of the French government was directed to the importance of the geographical position of the island and to the expediency of making one of its harbours an *entrepôt* for the trade between Canada, France and the West Indies. M. Raudot, intendant of justice and police, and his son, who had charge of finance in Canada, recommended, in 1708, that the island should be made available for commercial purposes, and very strongly pressed the necessity of fortifying one of its harbours, which "would afford a safe refuge for vessels chased by an enemy, driven in by storms or in want of provisions." Such a harbour would, in their opinion, "form a suitable rendez-vous for cruisers and privateers, while France might monopolize the codfishery on the coast of Acadie by means of a few small frigates, always ready to drive off foreign fishermen."² So far the island had been neglected, and Plaisance—the Placentia of the Portuguese—was the headquarters of the French fisheries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. At this time Newfoundland was inhabited by a considerable number of English traders and fishermen, chiefly on the coast between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista. Both the French and English had now a large fleet of vessels of considerable size engaged in these rich fisheries, the annual catch of the French alone being probably half a million quintals. When Newfoundland was given up to England in 1713, the French officials and inhabitants removed to Cape Breton, where English Harbour, from that time known as Louisbourg, was chosen as the capital. The island itself was named Ile Royale, St. Peter's became Port Toulouse, and the fine port of St. Anne became Port Dauphin, and seemed likely at one time to be chosen as the seat of government. The first governor of Ile Royale was M. de Costabelle,³ who had held a similar position at Plaisance, in Newfoundland. The

¹ Seeley, "Expansion of England," pp. 132, 133, 138.

² For a very full abstract of this able memorandum of the Raudots, see Charlevoix, "Histoire Générale de la Nouvelle France," iv. 129-142.

³ The following is a list of the French governors of Ile Royale from 1713 to 1758: M. de Costabelle, 1712-1717; M. de St. Ovide, 1718-1735; M. de Brouillan, 1736-1738; M. de Forant, 1739-1740; M. Duquesnel, 1741-1744; Major Duchambon, 1745; [the English governors from 1745 to 1749 were Warren and Pepperrell (joint), Commodore Knowles and Colonel Hopson;] M. des Herbières, 1749-1751; M. le Comte de Raymond, 1751-1754; M. d'Aillebout, 1754; M. de Drucour, 1754-1759. This list is made up from M. Marmette's summary of papers in the French archives relating to Ile Royale. ("Canadian Archives," 1887.) M. de St. Ovide was also known as M. de St. Ovide de Brouillan, and it is a question whether the same person was not governor from 1736 to 1738, but I have not been able to clear up this doubt.

island, in the course of years, received small accessions of population from Acadie, but, generally speaking, the inhabitants of that country showed little disposition to remove in any number to the island which France now began to value since she had lost so much by the treaty of Utrecht. It is interesting to note that in the negotiations that preceded this treaty England was desirous of holding Cape Breton in common with the French, on condition that neither power should raise fortifications on the island. If this proposition had been agreed to, we might have had in these days some such complications as have arisen from the unfortunate clause in the treaty which gives the French certain fishing rights on a portion of the coast of Newfoundland, to the great irritation of the people of that island, who are now suffering from the consequences of the blunder on the part of English statesmen, quite indifferent to colonial interests in those early times. The French government, however, not only succeeded in hampering the future development of Newfoundland, by obtaining this important advantage for their fishing interests, but they refused to agree to the proposition which was made by Saint John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, partly on the ground that as it was desirable "to establish a perfect good understanding" between France and Great Britain, "it was impossible to preserve it in the places possessed in common by the French and English nations;" but the chief reason was no doubt the one also urged that it was prudence on the part of the French King "to reserve to himself the possession of the only isle which will hereafter open an entrance to the river St. Lawrence." In this way, by the foresight of the French, Cape Breton was spared the troubles that might have arisen had the English suggestion been hastily adopted, and the treaty of Utrecht finally provided that this island, "as also all others both in the mouth of the River St. Lawrence and in the gulf of the same name, shall hereafter belong of right to the king of France, who shall have liberty to fortify any place or places there."

That we may understand the importance of Cape Breton in the contest between France and England for dominion in America it is necessary that we should survey the state of the colonies of the two nations on this continent. The English settlements extended from the Penobscot to the Spanish colony of Florida and were confined to a narrow range of country between the Atlantic and the Appalachian range of mountains. When George the First ascended the throne of England, soon after the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, the total population of these colonies had reached 375,750 white inhabitants, and 58,850 blacks; in all, 434,600 souls, and was increasing with great rapidity. Their commercial activity and industrial enterprise had already created a total annual trade of imports and exports, probably to the value of twelve millions and a half of dollars.¹ The colonies of Massachusetts (which then included Maine), New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas (then comprising Georgia) enjoyed representative institutions based on those of England, and local government in a very complete form. New England from its natural situation had, since its early settlement, watched with jealousy and dread the growth of the French settlements in Acadie and Canada, and when their villages were destroyed and their people massacred from time to time by the raids of Indians and French, they were nerved to make powerful efforts to seize Quebec and Port Royal. Phipps made an abortive attack on the ancient capital of Canada in 1690, and Admiral Sir

¹ Hildreth, "Hist. of the U. S.," ii. 278, 329. Bancroft "Hist. of the U. S.," ii. 238.

Hovenden Walker never succeeded (1711) in getting beyond the mouth of the St. Lawrence, but after a loss of eight transports and nearly nine hundred men decided to give up even the project of attacking the little French post of Plaisance and to return to England.¹ The whole expedition was destined to failure from the very start, as the chief command of the veteran regiments which had followed Marlborough to victory on the continent of Europe was actually entrusted to a notoriously incompetent brother of Mrs. Masham, who had supplanted the famous Duchess in Queen Anne's affections. The Duke had refused to give him a colonelcy on the ground that he was a "good for nothing,"² but court favour foisted him, at last, upon an expedition whose issue reflected disgrace on all concerned in it and sadly discouraged the English colonists who were looking forward anxiously to its success. Their hopes had already been considerably raised by the advantage previously gained by General Nicholson—an able man long connected with the government of the colonies—who succeeded in 1710 in taking possession of Port Royal.³ From that time Acadie ceased to be a French possession, and the people of New England felt that the first step had been taken towards ridding themselves of a dangerous neighbour in America. Half a century, however, would pass before all their hopes could be realized and England reign supreme in the valley of the St. Lawrence.

¹ It appears that Sir Hovenden was forced by public opinion in England to retreat to South Carolina and to write a book in his defence:—"When I perceived myself unworthy to serve my own nation any longer [see p. 21 of his *Journal of the Expedition*] I thought it more consistent with my principles, and indeed more honourable to retreat to the most distant part of the King's dominions, and pass the rest of my life in a private state of solitude and retirement." In concluding his apology or defence (see App. XV to this work) he consoles himself with this poetic outburst:—

To conclude.

"How thoughtless is the Man, and how unblest!
Who suffers Fortune to invade his Rest:
Who vainly grieves at Injuries of Fate,
Which eases none: But does more Ills create:
Fondly pursuing Methods, for Redress,
Which ruffle, and destroy his inward Peace.
Man is a world, and to himself can be,
The Seat of Happiness, or of Misery:
Whose reason, is the Monarch of his Mind,
And uncontroul'd should rule and unconfin'd;
What boots it then, tho' fickle Chance deprives,
Of outward Benefits, Chance only gives?
Tho' all the States on Earth should be at Jars
Involv'd in foreign, or intestine Wars;
While his small Kingdom, undisturb'd shall be,
From civil Discords, and rude Tumults free;
Fortune's Insults, he'll treat with just Disdain,
And she'll attempt his settled Peace in vain.
Let him secure a calm Repose within,
He's safe: For Sorrows only then begin,
When headstrong Passions dare rebellious prove,
And reason from the Throne, by Force remove."

² Bancroft, "History of the U. S.," ii. 200, 201 (N. Y., 1888, author's last ed.).

³ The French Governor Subercase, who surrendered Port Royal to General Nicholson, had a commission from the French king as "Governor of Acadie, Cape Breton and the adjacent islands and countries." By his surrender then Cape Breton came also into the possession of England until 1713, when France awoke to its importance. Douglas, "Summary of the British Settlements," i. 345-346; Murdoch, "Hist. of Nova Scotia," i. 318.

Realizing, at last, the serious mistake they had made in neglecting the defences of Acadie, the French government, after a few months of hesitation—quite intelligible in view of the disasters of the great war—set to work to adopt the wise advice of the Raudots in 1708 and to make Louisbourg a centre of trade on the Atlantic coast, and a bulwark of their dominion in Canada. Unlike the English colonists, the French on the St. Lawrence enjoyed no political liberties, but were governed by an aristocratic, illiberal system which crushed out every semblance of self-government and placed them entirely under the rule of the king and his officials in the province. Their only trade was in furs, and the country gave no evidence of that commercial enterprise that distinguished the English colonies, where ship-building, the fisheries and tobacco cultivation were among the staple industries. In 1714 there were only two towns of any importance in Canada, Quebec and Montreal, and their total population did not nearly equal that of Boston. The whole population of Canada did not exceed twenty-five thousand souls, or about one half that of Massachusetts, of which less than five thousand were capable of bearing arms. Although the commerce and population of Canada were insignificant in comparison with the English colonies, the French governors were ambitious to extend French dominion in America. Men like Joliet, Marquette and La Salle represented the spirit of enterprise which carried *coureurs de bois*, missionaries, traders and gentlemen-adventurers into the mysterious west which Frenchmen had discovered and explored forty years before Governor Spottiswood and his gay following of Virginia gentlemen had crossed the Blue Ridge and saw the beauty of the Shenandoah Valley. The only practical result of that holiday trip of an English cavalier was the presentation of a pretty golden horseshoe to the gallant gentlemen who, in honour of the occasion, were named the “knights of the golden horseshoe”;¹ but La Salle actually explored the country of the Illinois, descended the Mississippi and gave to France the right to claim that great valley, which is now the home of many millions of people, inhabiting a rich country which seemed, at one time, destined to become a part of a mighty French empire in America. When the House of Hanover gave a king to England, there were already French posts and missions at important points on the great lakes and in the northwest, discovered by the French explorers during the closing years of the seventeenth century: at Frontenac, on the head of the St. Lawrence River; at Detroit, between Lakes Huron and Erie; at Ste. Marie, between Lakes Huron and Superior; at Mackinaw (Michillimacinae), between Lakes Huron and Michigan; at Fort Miami, on the St. Joseph at the foot of Lake Michigan; at St. Louis, on the Illinois; at Kaskakia, on the upper Mississippi; at Mobile, on the Gulf of Mexico.² These posts were the evidences of France’s growing power in North America, the first steps towards the realization of that ambitious policy which, in the middle of the eighteenth century, laid claim to the Ohio Valley and attempted to confine the English colonies between the sea and the Alleghanies.

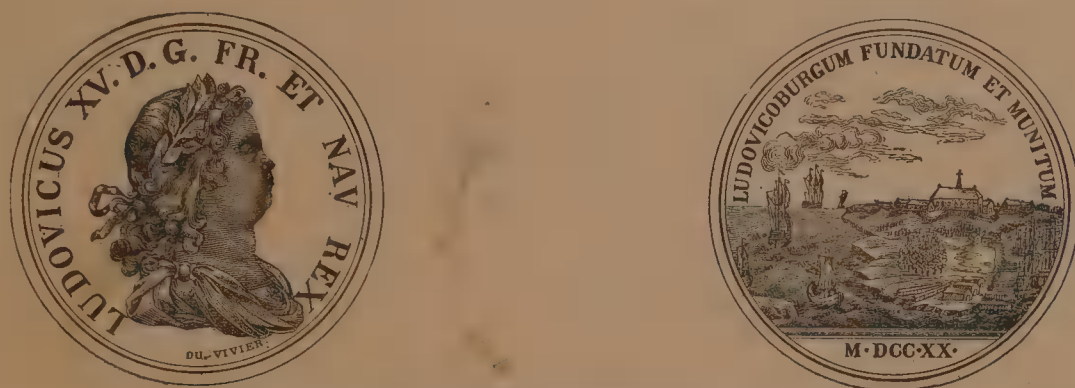
The fortifications of Louisbourg³ were commenced in 1720 and cost the French nation thirty millions of livres or about six million dollars, or taking into account the greater

¹ See Cooke’s “Virginia,” in the American Commonwealth Series (Boston, 1884) pp. 314, 315; Hinsdale’s “Old Northwest” (N.Y., 1891) i. 17, 18; the latter quotes Waddell’s “Annals of Augusta Co.,” pp. 6-9.

² For a brief sketch of the colonization of the Northwest, and the establishment of a chain of fortified posts between the lake country and the settlements on the St. Lawrence, see Hinsdale’s “Old Northwest,” i. 33-54.

³ See large plan of the fortifications appended to this work.

value of money in those days over ten million dollars of our money, and even then they were never completed in accordance with the original design, on account of the enormous expense which far exceeded the original estimates, and of the reluctance of the French king to spend money in America when it was required to meet the lavish expenditure of mistresses and the cost of wars of ambition in Europe. The walls of the fortifications were chiefly built of a porphyritic trap—a prevailing rock in the vicinity.¹ A considerable



French Medal struck at foundation of fortifications of Louisbourg.²

portion of the finer materials used in the construction of the brick and stone masonry of the fortifications and buildings was actually brought from France,—as ballast probably in the fishing fleet from year to year—but it is also well known that a good deal of the timber and brick was purchased from traders of New England who had no objection to earn an honest penny, even among a people whom they at once despised and hated, and some of whom, in all probability, helped at a later time to demolish the very walls for which they had furnished materials.³ It is stated with such persistence by French officers, that we must believe that there is some truth in it, that the fortifications had been constructed carelessly and worthless sea sand used in mixing the mortar. It is quite probable that in Louisbourg, as in Canada, the officials in charge of the works cheated the government in every possible way in order to amass enough to get out of the country to which many of them had a strong aversion.

¹ Dr. Gesner's "Industrial Resources of Nova Scotia," p. 308. "The quarry," he is writing of a visit to the ruins in 1849, "is seen about half a mile from the town. The stones were employed in their rough state. With them I found a handsome cut rock, closely resembling the Portland stone of England. I have been informed that this rock was obtained by the French at Mira River, but I have never seen any like it in America. Pieces of fine polished marble were also found among the ruins of the governor's dwelling." See App. XVI to this book for a reference to Dr. Gesner's work on Nova Scotia.

² From the collection of Mr. McLachlan, Montreal. See App. XII to this work.—No. 1 in list.

³ The New England merchants were always ready to take advantage of their position and make money out of England and France according to existing circumstances. Sir Hovenden Walker, admiral of the fleet that met with disaster in 1711, while in the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the way to attack Quebec, (see *supra* sec. XI) tells us in his account of the ill-fated expedition, that while in Boston, for the purpose of obtaining supplies, Mr. Belcher, a rich and leading man of the province, refused to continue his contract to furnish provisions, because he could not get the exorbitant prices he asked. (See pp. 64, 65 of Journal.) Some of the captains of the ships expressed the opinion that "Belcher designed to buy up all the provisions to be had in the country to enhance the prices and so make the whole advantage to his own private interest." Mr. Peter Faneuil—a famous name in Boston still—was also remarkable for "the exorbitance of his prices." (See pp. 11, 12 of Journal.) Puritan and Profit appear to have been often synonymous terms in the early history of New England.

The harbour of Louisbourg lies on the southeastern coast of Cape Breton and is a port very easily made by vessels coming from Europe. The cape from which the island takes its name, and which was always the landfall anxiously looked for by the Breton, Basque and English mariners in the old times to which I have referred, lies only about two leagues in a northeasterly direction from the most easterly point of the harbour where a lighthouse has always stood since the days of French occupation. The harbour runs from southwest to northeast and has a length of about two miles and an average width of half a mile. It has a depth of from three to six fathoms of water, and affords safe anchorage at all seasons for a large fleet of vessels. It is rarely blocked by drift ice compared with other ports on that coast of Cape Breton and is open all winter, the little northeastern harbour being the only part frozen. It has a remarkably easy entrance from the sea of probably a third of mile in width between the rocky shore of Lighthouse Point and a chain of islets and rocks which form an impassable barrier to any approach from the ocean to the oblong neck of land on the southern shore of the port, where the fortified town of Louisbourg was built by the French. This point rises gradually from the harbour and forms a slight acclivity where the buildings stood, and then gently declines into the low ground, made up of swamp, rocky knolls and scrub, which lies between it and the great bay of Gabarus, which stretches to the southwest for a distance of from a mile and a sixth to four miles from the fortifications, White Point being the nearest and Freshwater Cove the furthest in this direction. At the southwest extremity of the harbour there was and is still a little barachois—a name generally given to a pond connected with the sea,—while the port narrows towards the northeast and forms an arm between the western shore and a rocky promontory, covered with scrubby spruce, averaging from a mile and a quarter to half a mile in width. This sheltered arm has been always the favourite anchorage of the fishing boats and schooners from the earliest times. On the most prominent point of the promontory, at the entrance of the harbour, stands the lighthouse, from which a most magnificent view of the Atlantic can be had on a clear day. On the northeast side the French had a careening wharf where men-of-war could heave down and be repaired. On the opposite shore there were a large number of rude stages where the fishermen made their fish. The shore of the promontory is exceedingly rugged and precipitous in places, but between the lighthouse point and Cape Breton there are three picturesquely formed coves or small harbours, which have been always the resort of fishermen, and one of which is memorable as having been the scene of Lord Ochiltree's abortive attempt to establish the first British colony on the island. The western side of the harbour has a very gradual ascent into the interior of the island, and was covered with a thick grove of small spruce, except where it had been cleared to make room for batteries and buildings and to prevent a cover for an attacking force too close to the town. The hilly country, which practically commands the town on this side of the port, stretches as far as Lake Catalogne, and beyond to the beautiful river and bay of Mira, a distance of about twelve miles. On this river, in the course of time, French people had comfortable farms and even gardens, and here and there the visitor can still see the narcissus growing among the ruins of their old homes and the stumps of old apple and plum trees which had been evidently planted by these early inhabitants of

the island.¹ On the same river there was also a settlement of Germans, probably from Alsace-Lorraine.²

The fortifications enclosed an area of over one hundred acres, and had a circumference of about two and one-half miles. They were planned on the best system as laid down by Vauban and other great masters of engineering skill, and were intended to be, as indeed they were, despite their faulty construction, the most complete example of a strongly fortified city in America. Writers have constantly referred to Louisbourg as "the American Dunkirk," and it is no exaggeration to say that its fortifications can be best compared to that powerful fortress which was for so many years a menace to England on the French coast. The strongest portion of the fortifications was necessarily constructed on the land side, stretching for two-thirds of a mile from the Dauphin or west gate at the north-west-erly angle of the walls or the southern shore of the harbour to within a short distance of the rocky shore at Black Point, and facing the country which stretches to Gabarus Bay,—necessarily the weak side since any attack by land must come from that direction. If we survey the general features of the fortifications, as set forth in the plans and descriptions which have come down to us, we find that the glacis was perfect on the southwest, or land front, as far as the shore extremity of the walls, and a ditch at least eighty feet in breadth extended throughout this distance. An escarpment rose above this ditch, but it was necessary to cross a bridge over a little stream before entering the west or Dauphin gate, which was protected by the Dauphin bastion and a circular battery mounting sixteen 24-pounders. Following the walls we come next to the King's bastion and citadel, which was protected by the glacis, a covered way, and a moat connected with the town by a drawbridge. The citadel was a long, oblong building of stone, and contained apartments for the governor, a barracks and a chapel. In the bastion there were also an arsenal and a magazine, a place d'armes and a parade. Passing on for about five hundred feet, we come to the Queen's bastion, and midway between it and the Princess's bastion was the Queen's gate, which connected the town with the place d'armes at that point by a bridge over the ditch. The Princess's bastion formed the defence of the extreme south-western point of the wall, facing the rocky shore. From this point, for a distance of about two hundred yards, the defences consisted only of a rampart for small arms and a palisade, the rocky shore and shallow water being here well covered by the fire of the bastions. In

¹ James Gibson, who belonged to Brigadier-General Waldo's regiment in 1745, gives an account in his journal (see App. X to this work) of two fine farms on a neck of land in the west-northwest part of the island, about twenty-five miles from the Grand Battery. "First we came to a very handsome house, with two large barns, two large gardens and fine fields of corn. * * * The other was a fine stone edifice, six rooms on a floor and well furnished. There was a fine walk before it, and two barns contiguous to it, with fine gardens and fields of wheat. In one of these barns were fifteen loads of hay, and room sufficient for sixty horses and cattle." As Gibson speaks of a house "situated at the mouth of a large salmon fishery," Brown ("Hist. of C. B.," p. 222*n*) is probably right in his conjecture that the farms were situated near the confluence of the Mira and Salmon rivers—a fertile and beautiful country.

² Writing to the French minister in 1753, M. Prévost, the intendant, has the following remarks on the subject: "I had the honour of announcing the location of the German village on the border of the Grand Lake of Mira. It is there Count Raymond told me he wished to place it, but I have since then indirectly heard that the settlement had been changed to the grand Mira road, one league from the lake and at the foot of the Devil's Mountain. I hope I am wrong in this particular, but it is in the knowledge of everybody that the poorest land for the purpose has been chosen, and the grant of one arpent [nearly two English acres] as frontage to each lot is far too narrow." See "Correspondance Générale, Archives Coloniales de la Marine" (Paris), vol. xxxiii, c. 11, fol. 100.

the siege of 1745, however, it was considered necessary to add a picquet line for additional defence. The Maurepas and Brouillan bastions protected Rochefort Point, from which stretched to the southeast the rocks and island which guarded the harbour from the ocean. Beyond the Maurepas bastion there was a large pond, over which was built a long bridge of timber, communicating in a northwesterly line with the battery de la grève, which mounted ten guns and was the most important work on the harbour front of the town. The beach between the latter battery and the Dauphin bastion formed a little cove, which was protected by the cross-fire from those points, and over which stretched a boom in 1745 to guard against fireships and to prevent the English from landing from boats on that side of the town. The wall around this cove was made of stone and earth, with a banquette and parapet for the use of musketeers. Here there were four gates communicating with the shore, chiefly for the purpose of bringing in supplies. Close by, within the walls, were the ordnance and general storehouses of the town. Accounts vary as to the number of cannon that were actually mounted within the circuit of the walls, but there were at the time of the first siege in 1745, embrasures for twenty-eight guns, and at the time of the second attack, thirteen years later, additional defences, including a battery of twenty-four guns, were erected at Rochefort Point. The town itself was well laid out in regular streets, six running east and west and seven north and south, crossing each other at right angles. A fine hospital and nunnery, built of stone, stood about the centre of the town. Connected with the hospital of St. Jean de Dieu was a small chapel. The residences of the people were generally small wooden structures on brick or stone foundations from six to seven and a half feet from the ground. "In some houses," says one writer who was in the town in 1745, "the whole ground floor was of stone and the stories of wood."¹

If we are to judge from a return of the buildings used by the military establishment in 1753,² the accommodation for officials of the government and the officers and soldiers of the garrison was in many ways unsatisfactory. The barracks and officers' quarters were too small and otherwise inadequate. In a place of the importance of Louisbourg, one would expect to find all the public buildings constructed of solid masonry, and every means taken to render them as safe as possible in times of war. The return in question shows, however, that the public buildings erected by the French themselves were for the most part of stone masonry, and that the wooden and other structures of a flimsy character in the town had been hastily erected by the English while in possession of the place from 1745-49. In most cases these buildings were allowed to remain in use until 1758, when the guns of the besiegers made sad havoc in the wooden erection known as the English barracks. Shingles were largely used on the roofs of public as well as private buildings, and the dangers of the inhabitants in times of siege consequently increased to a criminal degree. As a matter of fact, Louisbourg appears to have been a town which, in its original design, was intended to be a place of impregnable strength, but which, through the parsimony of the French government, and the mismanagement and dishonesty of officials, had not realized the ideas of its founders in point of security.

¹ "A Voyage to South America, etc.," by Don George Juan and Don Antonia de Ulloa, (see *infra*, sec. V, and App. X to this work), the latter of whom describes Louisbourg in 1745.

² See App. XVII to this work for an official (French) enumeration of the officers' quarters, barracks, guard-houses, powder magazines and other houses connected with the military establishment of Louisbourg in 1753.

The fortifications were indeed only completed a year or so before 1745, and then, after it was given up by the English in 1748, it was in the possession of the French only ten years. Under the circumstances there must have been always a considerable uncertainty as to the future of the town, and the merchants who frequented it could hardly have gone to any heavy expenditure in a place of which they expected to make only a temporary home. During the years it was in the occupation of the French, there were probably, on the average, nearly two thousand people living in the town, but this number was increased in the time of war by the inhabitants of the surrounding country—Gabarus, Mira and Lorembec—who came there for protection. The garrison, in time of peace, reached one thousand men, and in addition to the force there was a detachment of troops stationed at the royal battery, one at the island battery, one at Port Toulouse and another at Port Dauphin. The island battery just mentioned consisted of thirty-two forty-two pounders, and protected the entrance of the harbour. The royal or great battery was situated on the western shore of the harbour, immediately facing the entrance, and was quite a formidable work, constructed with a moat and bastions on the land side, and mounting forty-four guns, twenty-eight of which were forty-two pounders. Both these works were intended to be important auxiliaries in the defence of the town, and had not the royal battery been suddenly deserted at the very commencement of the siege in 1745, the fortress would hardly have fallen so easily before the attack of Pepperrell and his men.

III. GOVERNMENT AND STATE OF CAPE BRETON DURING THE FRENCH RÉGIME.

The government of Cape Breton was modelled on that of Canada, to which it was subordinate, and consisted of a governor, generally a military man, a king's lieutenant, who was also commander of the forces, of a commissary, of an attorney-general, and of four or five councillors. These officials formed a governing body known as the superior council, which had also jurisdiction over the island of St. John, now Prince Edward Island. The governor was the president of the council, but, while he was nominally supreme in military affairs, he was controlled in financial matters by the commissary, who had also charge of the military chest and of all the military stores. This same officer had jurisdiction over the administration of justice, in accordance with the ordinances of the king and the parliament of Paris. An inferior court known as the bailiwick tried civil suits and breaches of the peace, in accordance with the *coutume de Paris*, but the high court of justice in the colony was the council, to which appeals could be had in all cases, though their decisions might be reversed on reference to the supreme council in France. Grants of land were made in accordance with the king's instructions by the governor and commissary. The members of the council, exclusive of the officials, were generally chosen from the leading persons of the colony. A court of admiralty, composed of a lieutenant, the attorney-general and a couple of minor officials, acted as a customs' establishment, where the merchants entered their goods and where any infractions of the port regulations could be punished by confiscation or fines. Justice, however, appears to have been loosely administered, since the officials were very inadequately paid and had no means of executing their decrees. One writer complains that "there was not even a common hangman, nor a jail, nor even a tormentor to rack criminals or to inflict penal tortures." The writer in question, Thomas Pichon, who lived for some years in the town as secretary to

Count Raymond when governor of the island, does not express a favourable opinion of the mode in which the affairs of the colony generally were conducted ; but while he is obviously prejudiced in his comments, especially against the clergy and religious orders, one who remembers the speculation and jobbery prevalent for years in Canada during the closing years of the French *régime* may well believe that the officials at Louisbourg were equally corrupt, especially when we know that the commissary at Louisbourg for some time was Bigot, whose financial administration subsequently at Quebec nearly ruined the Canadian province at a time when it required all its resources to meet the great crisis in its history.¹ As was always the case in Canada, there was a constant conflict of authority between the governor and the commissary or acting intendant in Louisbourg, whose respective powers appear to have been arranged for the special purpose of creating difficulties and making one a spy upon the other. The fact that the government of Cape Breton was subject to that of Canada did not help to maintain an orderly and peaceful state of things, since in case of dispute weeks and months generally elapsed before a decision on the point at issue could be obtained from the vacillating authorities at Quebec. Pichon gives us some examples of these divisions between the two chief officials. "Whatever the governor proposed," he says in one place, "was sure to be contradicted by the commissary. The latter used to deny that the case was so urgent as to require his compliance ; neither would he, without an express order, deliver out the public money, which he has generally in his custody. In the meantime the fortifications were neglected, and a dangerous enemy was ready and able to take advantage of our divisions ; so that before the quarrel between the two rivals in ambition, authority and interest could be decided, the proper precautions were likely to come too late." Though one could hardly blame the commissary for refusing to pay public money except on an express order from the nominal head of the government, it is certain that there was great looseness in the conduct of public affairs as well as a decided conflict of authority among those in office. Unhappily, too, for the colony, the officers of justice were often appointed without reference to their legal qualifications. When they were not military men, they were chosen from the inhabitants according to the caprice or favouritism of the governor and intendant, who had joint control over such appointments. At one time, for instance, the judge of the admiralty, who was also the judge of the inferior court of justice, had been a "journeyman wigmaker." It is quite easy to believe, then, that "this magistrate and the others of subordinate jurisdiction grew extremely rich, since they are interested in different branches of commerce, particularly the contraband."

The religious wants of Louisbourg and of other parts of Cape Breton were under the ministration of a number of missionaries, some of whom laboured for years among the Micmacs, when there was probably not another white man on the island. In addition to the priests, there were at Louisbourg some members of a religious community in charge

¹ "With the fall of Louisbourg, where he had acted as commissary, etc., coincides very closely the arrival in Canada of Intendant Bigot, who, by his shameless robberies, prepared the way to the abyss of ruin into which New France was to be precipitated eleven years later. This degraded being would seem to have inoculated his subordinates with all his own vices as soon as he reached Canada ; for, previous to his coming, we find again and again in the letters of the governors and intendants reference to the probity and zeal of Varin, Morin, Martel and others, all of whom were afterwards the accomplices of the infamous intendant." See Marmette in "Canadian Archives," 1887, cxxxv.

of the hospital, as well as several nuns belonging to the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame*,¹ which had been founded by the pious Sister Bourgeoys in the infancy of the Canadian colony, for the education of young girls² The hospital brothers also acted as physicians for the whole community in the absence of any regular doctors and druggists, apart from the surgeons of the troops. No mention is made by any writer of schools for the children, of whom there must have been a considerable number since there were, at least, between three and four thousand people in the island at one time and another from 1748 to 1758. In all probability, in Cape Breton as in Canada, education was exclusively in the hands of the priests and the religious orders.

The codfishery was of course the staple industry of the people, and was carried on chiefly at Louisbourg and the adjacent bays. During the French occupation, New England fishermen were also largely engaged in the deep sea fisheries, and had for years a depot at Canseau, and many of them were in the habit of selling their cargoes to the French, although it was contrary to the French regulations. Nearly all the staple articles required for the use of the colony were brought from France. Before the place fell into the possession of England in 1758, the anticipations of the Raudots were in course of realization, and Louisbourg was obtaining some importance as a port of call for the West Indian and Canadian fleets. In the autumn of 1744, the fleet that sailed from Louisbourg consisted of three men of war, six India ships, thirty-one other ships, nine brigantines, five "snows"³ and two schooners, mostly engaged in the West Indian trade. A small trade also grew up between Louisbourg and the West Indies and the ports of Boston and New York, although both the English and French governments prohibited direct commercial relations between the island and their colonies, since it was the practice of those days to confine all commerce to the vessels of their own nations. The French authorities on the island, however, for their own reasons, winked at an illicit trade in fish and various articles of English and colonial production, and a good deal of smuggling was carried on for years at Louisbourg and other ports of Cape Breton. Sugar, coffee and tobacco from the French West Indies, and wines and brandy from France, found their way on board New England vessels in exchange for codfish, brick, boards, meal and various colonial commodities. As early as 1725 we find there were a number of New England vessels carrying on this trade regularly with Louisbourg. One of them, we read, took a whole cargo of claret and brandy for the use of the people of New York, who were, even in those days, as fond of good living as they are now.⁴

The value of the fisheries and commerce of Cape Breton necessarily varied from year to year on account of the constantly recurring wars between France and England, and the consequent derangement of trade in the French possessions in America. Elsewhere⁵ will be found some interesting details of fisheries and trade gathered from official sources of information in Paris. The French government took great pains to obtain regular

¹ This congregation, whose parent house is still in Montreal, has now branches at Sydney, Arichat and West Arichat or Acadiaville. (See *infra*, sec. X.)

² See Faillon, "Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada" (Montreal, 1865), ii. 284-286.

³ A "snow" is described in the nautical dictionaries as "a vessel equipped with two masts resembling the main and foremasts of a ship and a third small mast just abaft the main mast, carrying a sail nearly similar to a ship's mizzen." But Preble (New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., 1868, p. 396) says the largest two-masted vessels were sometimes called "snows" or "galleys."

⁴ Murdoch, "Hist. of N. S.," i. 430.

⁵ See App. XVIII to this work.

reports from its officers in America of everything touching the government, and the social, religious, and commercial condition of every one of its colonies, including Cape Breton. One estimate of the Cape Breton fisheries—a “supputation,” as it is called in the French document—obviously from an English source, gives 560 as the total number of brigantines, shallops, and other craft, and 3,400 as the total number of men employed in that branch of business in Cape Breton, previous to the taking of Louisbourg in 1745. The total quantity of fish yearly made in the island is estimated at 186,000 quintals, valued at about £93,000 sterling. The total value of the fisheries of the Gulf and Newfoundland, more or less dependent on the possession by France of the Island, and the maintenance of a strong fortress at one of its ports, is given at £981,692.10 sterling. At the time in question, it was estimated by the same authority that there were at least 414 vessels and 24,520 men engaged in the Gulf fisheries, and that the value of the annual catch was probably £1,152,000 sterling. This estimate is evidently calculated with a view to give the English government the most favourable view of the importance of Cape Breton, and to prevent them restoring it to the French.¹ The official statements of the French, now accessible in the French archives, do not bear out the large estimate just mentioned. The official report of 1753² to the French government gives the following statistics of the value of the fisheries and trade of Cape Breton in that year :—

THE FISHERIES.

Vessels of all classes employed	300
Products	{ 98,450 quintals 11,547 bbls. of oil
Estimated value in French livres	2,084,450

TRADE.

Imports from France, West Indies, in French livres ³	2,176,220
Exports	1,520,825

The difference between the imports and exports, 645,395 livres—and a similar state of things existed in most years—indicates on the face of the return a large balance against the colony, but it may be accounted for in several ways. First of all, the imports probably include a large quantity of provisions, clothing, and other goods sent out by the government for the use of the garrison and officials, and which of course demanded no commercial returns. A good deal of the merchandise entered at Louisbourg was sent for sale on commission, and no returns were made available until another year. A considerable

¹ Brown (“Hist. of C. B.,” p. 340) gives an estimate of the French fisheries which is obviously very much exaggerated. The whole catch before 1758 is given at nearly a million of quintals and the number of decked vessels at 726 and of shallops at 1,555, employing altogether fifteen thousand men. Louisbourg appears by this statement to have alone employed 600 vessels and shallops and 8,400 men. This estimate is so much beyond even the “supputation” mentioned in the text, and so entirely at variance with the several official statements given in App. XVIII to this work, and all others that I have been able to consult in the English or French archives, that it is impossible to accept it as authoritative in any particular. Brown received the statement from a well known resident of Cape Breton, but it will be seen that the original source of information is not given by him. It is just possible that it includes the French vessels that came out every spring for the fishery and returned in the autumn to France; but even so, it is altogether improbable that in the two years before 1758—a time of war—the fishing industry should have been prosecuted with so much energy off Cape Breton. The figures we give for 1753, from French official sources, assuredly illustrate the most favourable conditions of industry and commerce from 1749 to 1758 in the island.

² See App. XVIII (IV.) to this work.

³ A livre was worth about 1s. 4d. of English money, or 1fr. 66 centimes of French money, present values.

amount was also paid for in cash or by bills of exchange on France. West Indian goods were largely sold to New England vessels for specie or in exchange for a small class of schooners (*goëlettes*) which Cape Breton fishermen and traders found well adapted to their coasts and business. The value of these vessels in 1753 was 284,230 livres. The value of the codfish exported from the colony in 1753 appears alone in the official returns of exports, and does not represent the value of the total annual catch which, according to the figures given above, was only 90,000 livres below the value of the total importations, which, as already conjectured, included goods paid for by the government in France and representing no obligations on the part of traders. In all probability the merchants as a rule carried on a lucrative business in times of peace. It was only the fishermen who suffered and were left in a state of dependence on account of the high prices they had to pay for their outfit and provisions.

The people of Louisbourg largely depended on the French Acadian settlements at Bay Verte, and on the island of St. John eventually, for supplies of meat and vegetables. Only at Port Toulouse, Mira and a few other places was there ever any attempt at cultivation of the soil.¹ Some years, however, before Cape Breton passed into the possession of England by the treaty of 1762, the French were beginning to learn that the island was not the bleak, inhospitable tract it was at first believed to be, but had fine agricultural capabilities. The farms and gardens, however, were very few in number during the French rule, and the principal occupation of the people was the fishery of cod. Around Louisbourg the soil and climate forbid any extensive cultivation, and even now the grass only grows in luxuriance above the ruins of the old town. Many of the fishermen, from all accounts, seem to have eked but a poor livelihood from the fisheries themselves. It was then, as in later times of the history of the Cape Breton fisheries, a battle for existence between the fisherman and the trader who supplied him in advance with the means of carrying on his industry. The prices charged for supplies to this class of toilers were always enormous, and as a consequence they were never out of debt. Very many of these fishermen were brought out from France, on certain conditions, for a fixed number of years, and were on that account called "*engagés*." It was found necessary for the government to encourage the employment of these men, as the French were very reluctant to leave their old homes in France, and seek a livelihood in the island. The fishermen of Bretagne and Normandie have for centuries risked their lives on the coasts of Cape Breton and Newfoundland, but they have always returned to France in the fall when their work is completed. The French system of colonization was never calculated to build up a great colony in the days when Canada and Cape Breton were French dependencies.² But under no circumstances was there ever the same readiness on the

¹ See Brown, "Hist. of C. B.," 222.

² "The first thing which strikes one on reading the correspondence of the governors and officials at Ile Royale is the neglect invariably manifested by France towards the new colony, from its foundation in 1713 down to the fall of Louisbourg in 1758. Then the indolence of the settlers is another point which soon becomes evident. In place of seeking their support from the soil, we find the people trying to live almost wholly by fishing, while the upper class strove to live at the king's expense. Fishing, with its prompt profits and easy returns—at that period particularly,—first attracted the attention and absorbed all the energies of the first settlers on the island; for we find M. de St. Ovide de Brouillan, the governor, complaining to the minister as early as 1717 that the inhabitants paid but little attention to the cultivation of the soil. This improvidence increased with the lapse of time, and later on we find the authorities at Louisbourg making constant appeals to the court of France and to the intendants of Canada for help and grain at times when the latter colony was itself in the throes of famine, resulting from successive bad harvests." M. Marmette in "Can. Archives," 1888, cxxxvii.

part of the French peasantry and middle class, as there was among the English, to seek their fortunes in the new world. The greatest inducements that the French government could offer to immigration to their colonies had placed only some eighty thousand people in the valleys of the St. Lawrence and Louisiana when they passed from the possession of France in 1760, against nearly a million and a quarter in the English settlements on the Atlantic coast, which had been left to fight their own way, under the influence of that indomitable spirit of colonization which has always distinguished the English race since the commencement of the seventeenth century, when they first entered on the conquest of the continent of America.

The Indians of Cape Breton belonged to the tribe of Micmacs or Souriquois, who are members of the great Algonquin family, whose representatives were found scattered over half a continent, even at the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains. The Micmacs frequented the eastern portions of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, and their number probably ranged from three to four thousand while the French occupied those countries. They became converts to the Church of Rome, through the instrumentality of the Recollets, and were always afterwards firm allies of France from the beginning to the end of the conflict with England. It does not appear that they ever lived in any number on the southeastern part of the island during the French occupation, but only made their appearance at Louisbourg at certain seasons for the purpose of trading or communicating with the French governor. Their favourite resorts were the islands and shores of the Bras d'Or lake, and they were accustomed to go to Port Toulouse to sell their furs and obtain supplies of provisions and ammunition. They are generally described by the old historians of New England as having been more cruel and vindictive than the majority of the Canadian Indians, but in all probability they were no worse in any respect than the other savage tribes who were constantly making raids on the English settlements. They had a deep affection for the French, who took every pains to cultivate their alliance, and never treated them as a subject people. The Roman Catholic Church had always the same remarkable influence over them that it has exercised over all the Indians with whom its zealous, self-sacrificing missionaries have come into contact in America. Living with them from year to year, ministering to their spiritual and physical wants, acting as their friends and advisers in all their affairs, suffering the same privations that they did in times of destitution and war, making their very superstitions subservient to the purposes of religion, the Roman Catholic missionaries were able to exercise a power and influence among the Indians that a Protestant priest has never possessed. No doubt some of their priests, like Le Loutre in Acadie, and Rasle on the Kennebec, were the persistent enemies of the English settlements, and always led the Indians to believe that the French would eventually triumph in America.

IV. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE NEW ENGLAND EXPEDITION AGAINST LOUISBOURG IN 1745.

During the thirty years that elapsed between the treaty of Utrecht and the breaking out of war again between France and Great Britain, the people of New England found that the merely nominal possession of Acadie by the English was of little security to them, while the French still held the island of Cape Breton and had the fealty of the

Indians and Acadians who were always looking forward to the restoration of the country to its former owners. It was with feelings of apprehension that the English colonists saw a walled town slowly rising on the southeastern coast of Cape Breton. The accounts that were brought to them from time to time by New England vessels of the formidable proportions of a fortress to which there was no parallel in America—not even in Quebec from a purely engineering point of view—showed them that they had after all achieved but little when they had captured the relatively insignificant post of Port Royal. As long as the French had control of Cape Breton and were able to maintain its fortress, there was no dependence to be placed on the Acadian French, who, very reluctantly, after the cession of Acadie, had been persuaded to take an oath of allegiance to the English sovereign, and then there is no doubt with a reservation in some cases that they should not be called upon to bear arms in the case of war against their old compatriots. The Acadians, it was evident, would be restless as long as the French flag floated above the citadel in the king's bastion of Louisbourg. From 1720 to 1745 the Abenakis of the east, instigated by French emissaries, tomahawked the helpless English colonists that had made their homes in the present state of Maine, in the vicinity of the Kennebec and the Penobscot. From Annapolis to Canseau the Micmacs destroyed life and property, and kept the English posts in constant fear. The French governor at Louisbourg endeavoured to divert from himself the blame for the acts of his Indian allies; but the evidence is clear that the Micmacs believed that they were doing their French friends good service, and assisting to restore to them their old rights in Acadie. New England took a signal revenge at last on the cruel and treacherous Abenakis, and inflicted on them a blow from which they never recovered. With them perished the dauntless and unselfish Rasle, who for his fidelity to his religion and his country is a hero to the Frenchman, and for his supposed hatred of the English and the protestantism of the colonists is the object of the contumely of the English historian of those days of trial. A peace was then made between the colonists and the Indians, but New England felt she had no efficient security for its continuance while Acadian and Indian could look to the great fortress of the Cape Breton coast as the representative of France on this continent, and as powerful evidence that she was not yet willing to give up the contest for dominion in America.

We have now come to a period in the history of America and Europe when events were shaping themselves for the humiliation of France and the triumph of England. Despite the strong resistance of Walpole, the great peace minister, England had gone to war with Spain in 1739 in response to the clamour of the commercial and middle classes who were bent on breaking down entirely the trade monopoly, so long enjoyed by the Spaniards in America. The treaty of Utrecht had given England a share in the infamous slave trade, and was the first blow against the mercantile monopoly of Spain. It was now determined to destroy her power on the Spanish Main and open her ports to the commercial enterprise of Englishmen. France looked with dissatisfaction at this effort of England to extend her trade and influence in America. Even the great minister Fleury, despite his desire to maintain peace, was forced by public opinion to prevent England from appropriating to itself the entire commerce of the West Indies. "France," he said, "though it has no treaty with Spain, cannot consent that the Spanish colonies should fall into English hands."¹ Statesmen looking at the state of Europe at this critical juncture

¹ Bancroft, "Hist of the U. S.," ii. 300.

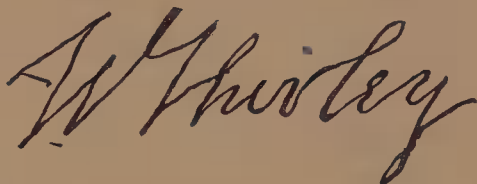
saw that the great nations were on the eve of a general war. The question of the Austrian succession had been a menace to Europe for years, and it was at last to culminate in a conflict which, despite the short truce of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, never ended until the treaty of Paris in 1763. France had been pledged to the Pragmatic Sanction by which Charles VI, Emperor of Germany, provided that his hereditary dominions should pass to his daughter Maria Theresa. When the Emperor died, France believed that the opportunity had come for breaking up the dominions of her great rival and increasing her own power on the continent of Europe. We can sympathize with the ambitions and necessities of the Austrian queen fighting for her kingdom and her child, but we look in vain for generous or honourable motives among those who were either her allies or her foes in the progress of that memorable war. France coveted the Netherlands, and Spain, Milan; Frederick of Prussia had no higher desire than to grasp Silesia and to drive Austria from Germany. The king of England was jealous of Prussia and thought more of his Hanoverian throne than of his English crown. It became the interest of England to assist Austria and prevent the success of France, now the ally of Spain, forced to defend her colonial possessions in America. It is wearisome to follow the intrigues and complications that the history of these times presents, and their only interest for us is the effect which the war that broke out between England and France in 1744 had on the destinies of their respective colonies on this continent. From 1740 to 1744 England had no reason to congratulate herself on the results of the war either in Europe or America. Her fleet met only with disaster, and her commerce was destroyed on the Spanish Main. Four years later she won a victory over the Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean, but hardly had her people ceased celebrating the event than they heard that the combined forces of Hanover, Holland and England under the Duke of Cumberland had been badly beaten at Fontenoy.

Those were days of gloom in England as her statesmen and people surveyed the situation on Europe, and saw their interests sacrificed by the stubborn ambition of the king and the incompetency of his ministers. At last when the prospect was darkest, there appeared a glimmer of light above the western horizon across the seas. "We are now making bonfires for Cape Breton and thundering over Genoa," wrote Horace Walpole, "while our army is running away in Flanders."¹ For the strongest fortress in French America, Englishmen heard with amazement, had surrendered to the attack of four thousand colonial fishermen, farmers and merchants, called suddenly from their industrial occupations, to achieve one of the most audacious acts in colonial history—certainly the most memorable in the records of the colonies until the war of independence thirty years later.

In recording the history of this famous episode of colonial times, writers have sometimes hesitated to say to whom should be attributed the honour of suggesting a project which, when first seriously mentioned, seemed to be too bold to be realized by men who were ignorant of those scientific rules which were absolutely essential to a siege of fortifications illustrating the genius of the best engineering skill of those times. It is admitted on all sides that one of the first persons to advocate the scheme was William Vaughan of New Hampshire, who is described by one writer as "a whimsical, wild projector," words which have been before applied to the originators of projects which have

¹ "Letters to Horace Mann," July 26, 1745.

eventually achieved a success never anticipated when first mooted. It is also certain that Lieutenant-Governor Clarke of New York, as early as 1741, in a communication to the Duke of Newcastle, dwelt on the advisability of taking Cape Breton, and of maintaining there and at Plaisance in Newfoundland, a sufficient number of ships and troops to guard the fisheries and to cut off the communications between Canada and the Mississippi, so that eventually that country would become an easy conquest.¹ In all probability the necessity of capturing Louisbourg was a subject of frequent discussion in those days when the English colonists surveyed the situation in America, and its importance in the scheme of French domination, but no one in authority seems to have moved in the matter until Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, a man of great sagacity and energy—one of the ablest statesmen of early colonial times—placed it in a practical shape before the people and the legislatures of the colonies. One thing is quite certain that the success of the enterprise from its beginning to its end must be attributed to the energy and daring of the colonists, and no English statesman ever ventured to suggest it.



If ever there was an instance of the truth of the old adage that "fortune favours the brave," it was the case of the New England expedition against Louisbourg. From the moment of the declaration of war until the capture of the town there was a succession, and, in fact, a combination of events which aided the success of the project. Although war was declared in the March of 1744, the news reached Louisbourg at least two months before it was known in Boston, and the result was that the French governor, Duquesnel, contrary to the orders of the government of France, immediately sent out an expedition in the expectation of surprising the English ports in Nova Scotia, and bringing the country under the control of France before the English could take adequate measures for its defence. At that time there were only some seventy or eighty soldiers altogether at the little port of Canseau, which was soon forced to surrender. The garrison and the few inhabitants in the place were at once taken to Louisbourg on the understanding that they would be allowed to return to England or to an English colony within a year. It was the intention of the French then to attack Port Royal, where there was at the time only an insignificant garrison in the old fort, of which the ramparts and works generally were in a wretched state. A body of some three hundred Micmac and Malecite Indians, led by two or three Frenchmen, among whom was the bold and unscrupulous priest, Le Loutre, one of the most inveterate enemies of the English in America, made their appearance before the fort on the first of July, but happily, Colonel Mascarene, the governor of Nova Scotia, then in command at Port Royal, was a man of great spirit and determination, and he succeeded in repulsing the savages who, like all Indians, never showed any disposition to attack the most ordinary fort defended by cannon. Happily for the English, the fort was well mounted with guns and when at last reinforcements, for which Mascarene had managed to send to Boston, made their appearance, the Indians retired; and on the later arrival of the French under Duvivier, who had previously taken Canseau, Governor Mascarene was able to resist attack, and his men felt additional confidence from their

¹ "N. Y. Col. Doc.," vi. 184. (See App. X to this work.)

previous success in beating off the Indians. Duvivier was a descendant of the La Tours¹ who had been, in the previous century, seigneurs of Acadie under the French *régime*, and he confidently expected, on coming into Nova Scotia, he would find the Acadians at Chignecto and Mines, where he lingered for some days before going on to Port Royal, quite ready to supply him with men and provisions, but to his dismay the people received him most coldly, and refused his overtures that they should join his expedition. His peremptory and threatening manner, when he found the Acadians unwilling to aid him, only helped to make his visit a thorough failure, and he was forced at last to proceed to Port Royal with only half a dozen men or so, whom he had persuaded, or forced at Chignecto to join his force. Duvivier found Mascarene more than his match, and he was obliged to return to Louisbourg where he was received with cold looks and sneers for his mismanagement of the expedition. On his return to France he was censured, not only for breaking the king's orders at the outset, but above all for his tardiness in moving against Annapolis directly after the capture of Canseau when there was a prospect of surprising the garrison. Had he succeeded in taking that place, his disobedience of orders would probably have been soon forgotten, and he would have received praise instead of censure. Nothing wins like success.

But all these events had their direct influence on the expedition which New England sent in the spring of 1745 against Louisbourg. The prisoners who had been captured at Canseau had remained until the autumn in Louisbourg, and the accounts they brought back of its condition gave Shirley and others reason to believe that if an expedition was, without loss of time, sent against it, there would be a fair chance of success. Not only did they learn that the garrison was small but that it was discontented and a mutiny had actually broken out on account of the soldiers not having received certain additions to their regular pay for work on the fortifications, in accordance with the usage adopted since the occupation of the fortress.² The ramparts were stated to be defective in more than one place, gales and other causes had delayed the arrival of the ships which arrived every year with provisions and reinforcements. The ill success of Duvivier in his attack on Annapolis, and the avowed reluctance of the Acadians generally at the time to assist their countrymen in Cape Breton, were facts which gave additional confidence to Shirley, Vaughan and many influential men who had already conceived the idea of striking a blow at the French which would give the English control of the whole coast from Cape Sable to the entrance of the St. Lawrence.

When Shirley first laid his scheme before the general court of Massachusetts in secret session it was rejected as foolish and chimerical in the extreme ; but no wise disconcerted by this failure the politic governor immediately obtained a petition largely signed by New England merchants complaining of the injuries that they had received from French privateers which found a refuge at Louisbourg. This petition induced the general court to reconsider the subject with the result that the project was carried by one vote. Previously to this, however, Shirley had sent a communication to England asking for

¹ M. Duvivier was son of Francois du Pont Duvivier, a French officier at Port Royal, who was married there on the 12th of January, 1705, to Marie, daughter of Jacques Mius, seigneur de Ponbomcoup, et Anne St. Estienne de la Tour, who was a daughter of Charles de la Tour. He was at that time capitaine aide-major of Isle Royal. He was consequently grandson of the original La Tour, and had many relatives in Acadie. See a *mémoire* on Acadie, 1609-1735, believed to have been drawn up by M. Duvivier, in 1731—Murdoch's "Hist. of N. S." i. 508-510.

² The leaders of the mutineers were severely punished on their return to France. See App. IX to this work.

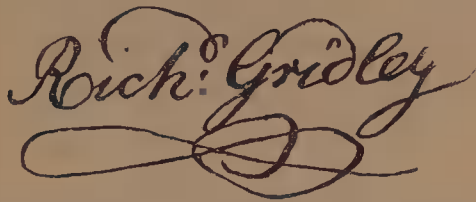
protection for the fisheries of Acadie and New England, but he had not given any definite information with respect to the plan that was then forming itself in his mind. Without waiting for an answer from England he sent circular letters to all the colonies as far south as Pennsylvania, setting forth the nature of the project and the prospects of its success. Everywhere except in New England it was regarded as a wild Quixotic scheme. Franklin looked upon it as quite impracticable. The issue was that Shirley found himself obliged to depend entirely upon the colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. It was on the latter that the great burden of the expedition fell. It was exclusively a New England affair, and none of the other colonies can claim even a reflected glory from its success. Pennsylvania and New Jersey are said to have promised to send some provisions and clothing.¹ New York did a little better, for although Governor Clinton could not get any assistance in men from the legislature with which he had some differences at that time on a question of salary, he succeeded in obtaining a loan of ten pieces of small ordnance with carriages, and a quantity of powder and provisions, for which he does not appear to have been ever adequately repaid by the colony. Governor Clinton was evidently determined that his efforts to assist the expedition should not be lost sight of, for in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle he called attention to the fact that without these guns "they could not have undertaken the affair," and he had the pleasure of telling the minister "that these very cannon greatly contributed to the reduction of Louisbourg, for which he received the thanks of the general court of Massachusetts Bay in a public manner, though he could hardly get any one to pay for the transportation of them."² Some allowance must, however, be made for the strained relations between the governor and the legislature, and besides it is not surprising that the members of the latter should hesitate to incur very heavy expense in a matter in which none of them had any confidence. When even the general court of Massachusetts agreed to the scheme by only a majority of one, it was hardly to be expected that the legislatures of other colonies, where the plan did not originate, could be animated by enthusiasm in favour of an undertaking which appeared so likely to end in disaster.

The expedition was ready to sail on the 23rd of March, and consisted of 4,070 men, of whom Massachusetts contributed 3,250, New Hampshire 304, Connecticut 516. Maine, not then separated from Massachusetts, contributed nearly one-third of the whole force on account of the great popularity of Colonel Pepperrell of Kittery on the Piscataqua, in the villages and towns of the districts where he lived. Rhode Island had promised a force of 150 men, but unfortunately for her share in the glory of the expedition it did not arrive until the battle was won. Pepperrell had command, with the title of lieutenant-general, and it would have been impossible to have made a more judicious selection in the colonies. He had become wealthy in commerce, and held some of the most important positions in New England. He had pleasant manners and thoroughly understood the independent character of the people and the best way of managing them. He had no military experience, but he was a man of excellent judgment and undoubted courage, and

¹ See Usher Parsons, "Life of Pepperrell," p. 57; Hildreth, "Hist. of the U.S.," ii. 395. It would appear, however, from the statement of Hutchinson ("History of Massachusetts Bay," ii. 380, *n*) that these colonies contributed money and provisions only after the reduction of the fortress. Belknap ("History of New Hampshire," ii. 212, *n*) makes a similar assertion.

² See "New York Colonial Documents," vi. 280, 284, 285.

those were the qualities not the least necessary in the conduct of an expedition which was in every respect a bold venture not governed by the ordinary rules of military projects. The majority of his officers and men were accustomed to brave hardships on sea and land, and were composed of the same materials that afterwards at Bunker Hill, Saratoga, and on many a hard fought field of the revolution showed regular troops that there were other qualities necessary to win battles in America than those possessed by the mere machine soldier. Many of them, it must be remembered, were accustomed to the use of the gun, and were excellent marksmen. A new England writer¹ tells us that the militia of New Hampshire, as far back as 1725, "was completely trained for active service; every man of forty years of age having seen more than twenty years of war. They had been used to handle their arms from the age of childhood, and most of them, by long practice, had become excellent marksmen and good hunters. They were acquainted with the lurking places of the enemy, and possessed a degree of hardiness and intrepidity which can be acquired only by the habitude of those scenes of change and fatigue to which they were daily exposed." But in 1745 the New England colonies had been at peace for many years, and the majority of those who took part in the expedition had never seen actual service. All of them certainly were ignorant of the simplest methods of siege operations, or of the use of heavy ordnance. The expedition was not only very defective in necessary materials of war for such important operations, but was without a sufficiency of military stores. They had only some pieces of ordnance which they obtained from New York and Castle Island with great difficulty. The next in command to Pepperrell was General Wolcott from Connecticut, who had served with Nicholson as far back as 1711, when the invasion of Canada was contemplated, and although well advanced in years was full of life and energy. Samuel Waldo, of Boston, who had experience in the militia and was also a member of the general council of Massachusetts, was named brigadier-general. He was



at first chosen as second in command, but the position was afterwards given to Wolcott, then deputy-governor of Connecticut, on the express condition made by that state in furnishing its contingent. Captain Edward Tyng, a capable New England seaman who had captured a French privateer of large size a short time before, was chosen as commodore of the little fleet of thirteen vessels, carrying in all two hundred guns. One of the most useful officers was Richard Gridley, on account of the aptitude he afterwards displayed for artillery service during the siege.

¹ Belknap, "Hist. of New Hampshire," ii. 82, 83.

² The officers in Pepperrell's army are given by Parsons, "Life of Pepperrell" (App. B.), as follows:

1. York County, Pepperrell's Regiment.—Colonel Bradstreet, Lieutenant-Colonel Storer, Major Cutts. Captains Peter Staples, Ephraim Baker, John Fairfield, Bray Dearing, John Kinslagh, John Harmon, Moses Butler, Thomas Perkins, William Warner, Moses Pearson.

2. Connecticut, General Wolcott's Regiment.—Colonel Burr, Lieutenant-Colonel Lothrop, Major Goodridge. Captains David Wooster, Stephen Lee, Daniel Chapman, William Whiting, Robert Dennison, Andrew Ward, James Church, Henry King.

3. Cumberland County, Colonel Waldo's Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Noble, Major Hunt. Captains Samuel Moody, John Watts, Philip Damarisque, Benjamin Goldthwait, Daniel Hale, Jacob Stevens, James Noble, Richard Jaques, Daniel Fogg, Joseph Richardson.

The preparations for the sailing of the expedition resembled a crusade against the hated French. The conditions of the times were in many respects favourable for enlisting men. Not only were the commercial interests of New England deeply at stake in the reduction of the French fort, and in obtaining possession of an island which controlled the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but the religious instincts of the people had been not very long before stirred up by what has ever since been known in colonial history as the "great awakening," which, like revivals in later years, rushed like a powerful wave of religious sentiment, and even of fanaticism, among the masses of the people. Deep in the hearts of the descendants of the Puritan settlers of New England, was a hatred of Rome and its adherents, and when the call was made against Louisbourg, no doubt it was better obeyed than if there had been no stimulus given to the protestantism of the people by the "great awakening," to which Whitfield, at the time in the country, lent the power of his eloquence.¹

The old Puritan spirit of the colonies asserted itself at this crisis, and supplications went up to Heaven on all sides in the churches and the homes of the people for the success of an expedition which was to crush Romanism and its superstitions. The troops were volunteers "in the service of the great Captain of our Salvation." The eminent preacher, Whitfield, who was still in America, had not given Pepperrell much encourage-

4. Brigadier Dwight's Regiment.—Colonel of Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas, Major Gardner.

5. York County, Colonel Moulton's Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Donnell, Major Ellis. Captains John Card, John Lane, Christopher Marshall, James Grant, Charles King, Peter Prescott, Ami R. Cutter, Samuel Rhodes, Bartholomew Trow, Estes Hatch.

6. Worcester, Colonel Willard's Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Chandler, Major Pomroy. Captains Joshua Pierce, John Terry, John Alexander, David Melvin, John Warner, Jabez Homestead, Joseph Miller, James Goulding, James Stephens.

7. Essex, Colonel Hale's Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Eveleigh, Major Titcomb. Captains Benjamin Ives, Daniel Eveleigh, ——— Titcomb, John Dodge, Jonathan Bagley, Jere Foster, Samuel Davis, Thomas Stanford, Charles Byles.

8. Bristol, Colonel Richmond's Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Pitts, Major Hodges. Captains Nathaniel Bosworth, Thomas Gilbert, Josiah Pratt, Robert Swan, Ebenezer Eastman, Cornelius Sole, John Lawrence, Nathaniel Williams, Ebenezer Nichols, ——— Weston.

9. Colonel Gorham's Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Gorham, Major Thatcher. Captains Jonathan Carey, Elisha Doane, Sylvester Cobb, Israel Bailey, Edward Demmick, Gershom Bradford, Samuel Lombard.

10. New Hampshire, Colonel Moore's Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Meserve, Major Gilman. Captains Samuel Whitten, William Waldron, True Dudley, Tufton Mason, William Seaward, Daniel Ladd, Henry Sherburne, John Turnel, Samuel Hale, Jacob Tilton, Edward Williams.

The colonial fleet was composed as follows: Massachusetts frigate, 24 guns, Captain E. Tyng commodore; Shirley galley or snow, a two-masted vessel, 24 guns, Captain J. Rous; Cæsar, 20 guns, Captain Snelling. In addition there were the following: One snow and three sloops, 16 guns each; one sloop, 12 guns; one, 14 carriage guns and 12 swivels; one, 14 guns; two, 8 guns each; a privateer of 20 guns hired from Rhode Island. Massachusetts provided nine of these armed vessels at her own expense, besides one hundred transports. Parkman gives the Massachusetts and Shirley only 20 guns, but the actual force appears to have been 24. See Drake, "Five Years' War," 246; "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 437, *n.*; Parkman, 'Atlantic Monthly' for March, 1891, p. 322. Barry, "Hist. of Massachusetts," ii. 141. The whole number of guns was 204, according to Parsons, "Life of Pepperrell," 50.

¹ "This religious revival began to make itself felt in 1734, under an impulse from Jonathan Edwards, and later, under the ministrations of George Whitfield, the wild passion—for it became scarce else—spread through the churches and communities of New England." "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." v. 133-135. "The expedition," says Parkman, ('Atlantic Monthly' for March, 1891, p. 321) "had, in fact, something of the character of a crusade emphasised by the lingering excitation of the 'great awakening.'"

ment when he was asked for his advice, but later on he suggested the motto for the flag:

*"Nil Desperandum Christo Duce."*¹

A clergyman who accompanied the troops is said to have carried a hatchet for the express purpose of destroying the images in the French churches.² This was one of the inspiring motives of a large number of his companions, who, whilst they looked, like the Ironsides of Cromwell, to Providence for special assistance did not neglect to look after their powder and to take other worldly precautions necessary even in the case of those who believed that their tenets of faith and mode of worship particularly commended themselves to heaven compared with the dogmas and superstitions of Rome. One devout colonial soldier,³ at the commencement of the siege, informed the general in command that he had achieved a notable success—the occupation of the royal battery—"by the grace of God and the courage of thirteen men."

V. THE SIEGE AND TAKING OF LOUISBOURG IN 1745.

Whether the designs of religious enthusiasts to destroy the symbols of religion in the Roman Catholic churches recommended themselves or not to a beneficent Providence, it is quite sufficient to know that the stars in their courses fought against the French Sisera. From the starting of the expedition until it appeared before Louisbourg the French acted as if they had no warning whatever of the attack that was to be made upon them. When the fleet of one hundred vessels arrived at Canseau in the early part of April the colonial leader found that the whole eastern coast of Cape Breton was blocked with ice, and that it was impossible to enter any of its ports and bays. While the harbours to the north of Seatar Island, which lies to the northeast of Louisbourg, may be full of drift ice, that place as a rule is generally clear, but in 1745 there appears to have been unusual quantities on that coast to stop all communications with the port. The colonists had already detailed several armed vessels to cruise off Louisbourg and prevent any news of the proposed expedition reaching the French garrison. One French frigate, the *Renommée*, fell in with the fleet off Canseau, but succeeded in escaping to France. While at Canseau Pepperrell built a block-house in which he stationed a small force and a few cannon. The French post at Port Toulouse was destroyed by his orders, and some vessels were sent to Bay Verte to prevent provisions and men being sent to the fortress. On the 22nd of April, a week before the expedition left Canseau, the English frigate *Eltham* arrived with the welcome news that Commodore Warren was on his way. On the following day he made his appearance with three ships to the great joy of the colonial troops. While

¹ "Whitfield, with a good deal of worldly wisdom, cautioned Pepperrell that if he failed the blood of the slain would be laid to his charge, and that if he succeeded the envy of the living would pursue him." T. H. Higginson in "Memorial History of Boston," ii. 115, n. See account of interview between Pepperrell and Whitfield in "Tyerman's Life of Whitfield," ii. 150.

² This was the Rev. Samuel Moody, minister of York, senior chaplain of the expedition. (See *infra*, p. 222.) He had not a few sympathizers, like John Gray of Biddeford, who wrote to Pepperrell: "Oh that I could be with you and dear Parson Moody in that church [Louisbourg] to destroy the images there set up, and hear the true gospel of our Lord and Saviour there preached!" See Parkman, "Capture of Louisbourg by the New England Militia," "Atlantic Monthly," March, 1891.

³ This was William Vaughan, one of the projectors of the expedition. See *infra*, third page.

at Antigua he had refused to give any aid to Shirley without orders from England, and it was with some dismay that the colonial commanders heard the news on the eve of the sailing. They had determined to keep it secret from their troops until they had reached Louisbourg. Happily, however, the expedition was not put to this trying test, for it appears that as soon as the Duke of Newcastle had received Governor Shirley's letter informing him of the necessity for protecting the English fisheries, he sent orders to Commodore Warren to sail at once for Boston and arrange measures "for the annoyance of the enemy and his Majesty's service in North America." While Warren was on his way to the colonial town he intercepted a Boston schooner and heard the news of the departure of the expedition. Thereupon he changed his course for Canseau.

It was the intention of Shirley that the expedition should arrive off Louisbourg at night, that the troops should land, march silently over the rocky, mossy ground, creep in some mysterious way up walls at least thirty-six feet high, and then surprise the sleeping and unsuspecting garrison. All the elements were to combine to ensure the success of this absurd project, which was conceived in the same imaginative vein that originated the genii of the Arabian tales. The surf was to cease to roll on the beach of Gabarus Bay, and the darkness of the night was to be the means of enabling the troops to perform a marvellous march over an unknown and dangerous tract of country. Shirley, however, was not alone in suggesting wondrous agencies for the surprise of the town. One ingenious person proposed a flying machine that would enable the troops to scale the walls before a bridge was made. Vaughan had proposed an equally easy plan of marching on snowshoes over the drifts that in the winter were frequently, according to him, level with the ramparts of the fortress. These very schemes of the fertile New England intellect were so many evidences of the prevailing opinion that the enterprise was very hazardous and not likely to be accomplished by the ordinary means at the command of the expedition. As it happened, however, the garrison at Louisbourg was to a great extent practically taken by surprise. One of the inhabitants¹ of Louisbourg has given us the testimony that the authorities, "though informed of the preparations [in New England] from the first, lost precious moments in useless deliberation." It appears, however, that "nothing to the purpose was done, so that we were as much taken by surprise as if the enemy had pounced upon us unawares." Governor Duchambon,² by some strange fatuity, had not taken the most ordinary precautions to keep himself thoroughly informed of every movement on the coast which might indicate the approach of an enemy. In his

¹ "Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg," etc., cited by Parkman, 'Atlantic Monthly' for March, 1891. See App. X to this work.

² M. Duchambon appears to have been king's lieutenant ("Can. Archives," 1887, ccexliii), and took command of the fortress on the death of M. Duquesnel in the autumn of 1744, but it is not certain that he had received his commission as governor when the siege of 1745 ended in the loss of Cape Breton to the French. His son, Duchambon de Vergor commanded at Fort Beauséjour in 1755, when taken by the English. M. Marmette comments in this sarcastic vein on the application made in 1761 by the latter for the cross of St. Louis ("Can. Archives," 1887, cclix) as a reward for his services: "Doubtless because he was to surrender on the 16th June the fort of Beauséjour, almost without striking a blow, after a mere shadow of a siege, which evil-minded people designated by the humorous appellation of 'siège de velours.' And, again, this is the person who, when commanding the fort at the Coves, allowed himself to be captured in his bed, and gave so easy an entrance to the English troops to the Plains of Abraham on the 13th September, 1759. It was not the cross, but rather the hangman's rope which these two scandalous affairs ought to have gained for him." Both son and father are clearly for sufficient reasons not popular in France or French Canada.

communication to the French minister, written after the fall of Louisbourg, he attempted to show that he had made a feeble effort to obtain news from Port Toulouse of the presence of an enemy in that direction; but although he had some information that there were strange sail on that coast and vessels had been even seen hovering off the port of Louisbourg itself for weeks, while the ice was blocking the eastern shores of the island, he appears to have lulled himself to sleep and to have awakened to a full consciousness of his danger only three days, according to his own account, before the fleet arrived in force on the morning of the 30th of April¹ in the roadstead of Gabarus Bay. His blindness for weeks before the attack actually took place was characteristic of a man who had persisted in refusing assistance from Quebec, when it had been offered to him by the governor of Canada in the autumn of 1744. One colonial historian asserts that there was a ball in Louisbourg the night before the fleet arrived in Gabarus, and we could well believe this to be a fact when we consider the many evidences before us of the indifference or ignorance of danger shown by the governor until the English were on the very point of landing. Then, with the fleet in view of the ramparts, bells were rung and cannon fired to give the alarm to the people of the adjacent settlements, and to bring them into the town. Dull Duchambon at last recognized his peril. He made a feeble attempt to resist the landing of the colonial forces by sending a detachment of 150 men, under the command of Monsieur Morpain and Sieur Mesilac—the former a famous “corsair,”—but it was unable to accomplish anything, through a ruse on the part of the officers in charge of the English boats. While the French were preparing to prevent a landing in the vicinity of Flat Point, the English quickly retreated and made for the shingle beach of the little cove some distance higher up the bay, known to the French as Anse de la Cormorandière, and to the English as Freshwater or Kennington Cove. Here, before the French detachment could reach the ground, the English colonists succeeded in effecting a landing under the fire of their ships’ cannon. The French were forced to retreat precipitately to the town, after a short engagement, in which they lost several men, killed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was Monsieur de la Boularderie, one of the inhabitants of the island.² One writer places the French commander among the number, but Monsieur Duchambon does not give his name, and it appears to be incorrect.

When we review the history of this memorable epoch in the history of America we find that fortune, favourable so far, continued to smile on the expedition until it achieved its object. The whole force of four thousand men were landed without difficulty by the 1st of May. If Pepperrell and his officers were not skilled in the scientific methods of investing a fortified town, at all events they acted with judgment in the steps they took for its reduction. They made their headquarters by the side of a little stream of fresh water which descends near Flat Point, or Artillery Cove, about two miles from White Point.³ In front of their lines rose the formidable walls and bastions constructed on the

¹ In the printed accounts of the operations there is great confusion as to dates. Most, although not all, of this confusion will disappear if it be borne in mind that in 1752 the new style of reckoning time was adopted, but that its use crept in gradually, some retaining the old, others using the new, between which there was a difference of eleven days. Consequently the two dates of landing [at Gabarus Bay], 30th of April and 11th of May, agree when we take the difference between the old and new styles into account. “Can. Archives,” 1886, ix.

² See *infra*, sec. IX, for an account of the La Boularderie, who has given his name to a well known island at the entrance of the Bras d’Or lake.

³ See Plate IV at end of this work giving plan of the fortifications and the siege operations of 1745.

plans of the best engineering skill of the day. It was impossible with their limited force of men and weak artillery to attack the whole range of fortifications which extended from the Dauphin or west gate to the shore, and therefore they confined their efforts to effecting a breach in the fortifications between the Dauphin's and the King's bastions. With this object in view they constructed four fascine batteries which were respectively situated at distances of 1,550, 600, 440 and 250 yards from the walls. The last, or breaching, battery was made eighteen days after the landing and did great execution on the west gate. Before this work, however, was completed another fascine battery, named Titcomb's, or the northwest battery—one of the most effective, according to Duchambon—was erected on a rising ground on the western side of the barachois at the southwestern end of the

Warren
Calmady
James Douglas
Rich: Tideman
K. Montague

Wm. Peppercell
J. Waldo
G. Dwight
Sam. Moore
Jno. Bradstreet¹

harbour. By the construction of this battery the men busy in the breaching battery were enabled to finish their work more rapidly, since it kept up a furious fire which engaged all the attention of the men who defended the walls at the Dauphin bastion. But at the very commencement of the siege, on the second day, there occurred an event most fortunate for the besiegers. The grand or royal battery, situated on the western shore of the harbour, and a very powerful auxiliary in the defences of the town, was found suddenly deserted by the French. The English and French narratives give different reasons for this hurried evacuation of an important work. The English accounts have been to the effect that when Colonel Vaughan went on a reconnoitering expedition around the harbour, during the afternoon of the 1st of May, he set fire to the storehouses at the northeast arm, and as these contained a large quantity of pitch and other combustible goods, they made great volumes of smoke, which enveloped the surrounding country and produced so much consternation among the troops in the grand battery into which it was carried that they supposed the whole army was about to attack them, and carelessly spiking their guns they fled precipitately to the shelter of the town. When Vaughan was returning to camp the next morning from his expedition he was surprised to see that there was no flag flying over the battery, and no smoke coming from its chimneys; but

¹ This list of signatures shows the Colonial and English officers who were present at a council of war held on June 3, 1745, on board Warren's ship the *Superbe*. "Mem. Hist. of Boston," ii. 118.

afraid of some trick of the enemy he would not venture near until he bribed an Indian with a bottle of spirits to approach as close as possible, as if he were drunk or crazy. Finding everything perfectly still the Indian climbed into an embrasure and found the battery deserted. Vaughan and his men took possession, and as they had no flag with them a lad climbed the flagstaff and fastened his red coat at the top.¹ The colonists held the battery successfully until reinforcements arrived, although the French commenced at once firing on them from the batteries of the town, and a number of men in several boats attempted to land and reoccupy the works which had been deserted in so cowardly a manner. These boats, it is probable, were sent for the purpose of completing the spiking of the cannon and carrying off the stores in the battery.

This is the story that has generally found currency in English histories of the siege, but it would appear from the very candid and evidently truthful narrative of the inhabitant of Louisbourg to which I have previously referred, that the French troops in the battery were seized with fright the moment Vaughan's force made its appearance on its way to burn the storehouses, and immediately evacuated the works without waiting for the enemy to fire a shot, and show an intention to attack.² The French governor, on the other hand, asserts that Captain Thiery, who had charge of the battery, evacuated it in accordance with the decision of a council of war which was called to consider his statement that it could not successfully resist for any time an attack by the enemy. We are also told that Monsieur Verrier, the chief engineer, objected to the proposition to blow up the battery, and the council yielded to his advice, the force of which it is impossible to appreciate when we consider that, if left intact, it would be of some use to the besiegers. One thing is quite certain that the French left the battery in great haste, and did their work of spiking the guns so ineffectively that these were soon made available for the purposes of the siege. The history of this affair affords of itself evidence of Duchambon's carelessness and incompetence. The fact that the storehouses were left, with all their contents, to fall into the possession of the besiegers, shows that the officials had lost their heads as soon as the enemy had made their appearance in force. These storehouses should have been immediately destroyed as was done in 1758. If the battery could not be held, as Captain Thiery believed, it should have been blown up on the instant. As it was, however, the English colonists obtained easy possession of a work which was immediately used against the town, and the first step was taken towards facilitating the entrance of the fleet into the harbour, of which this battery formed one of the most important defences. By another lucky stroke of fortune, thirty cannon were subsequently found near the careening cove on the east side of the northeast arm, and were used in the execution of a project which the besiegers found was absolutely necessary to the reduction of the fortress, and that was the construction of a battery at Lighthouse Point to silence the guns on the island, which effectively prevented the English fleet from coming into the harbour, and attacking the town at close quarters. The difficulties of constructing the works of the besiegers and carrying cannon and materials over the rocky, swampy ground around Louisbourg were enormous and entailed great hardship on the

¹ William Tufts, of Medford, aged 18. Samuel Adams Drake, in his short account of the "Taking of Louisbourg," (Boston, i. 1890) falls into the error (p. 113) of making this exploit of a courageous New England lad an episode of the disastrous attempt of the party, headed by Captain Brooks some time later, to obtain possession of the island battery. See *infra*, next page.

² Parkman, ("Atlantic Monthly," April, p. 517) cites the words of the inhabitant of Louisbourg.

colonial forces, however inured to severe labour many of them might be. One of them successfully devised a plan of dragging the cannon by sledges over the uneven surface between Flat Point Cove and the besieging works. From the beginning to the end of the siege, however, the colonial troops showed an amount of endurance, patience and cheerfulness in carrying out the orders of their officers that no regular troops could surpass. The men engaged in rough sports even while cannon balls were whizzing around them, and one severe critic of the expedition has written that "this siege was carried on in a tumultuary manner resembling a Cambridge commencement."¹ Many of them could not be provided with comfortable tents in consequence of the dearth of suitable material in some of the colonies;² and were obliged to find protection in camps rudely constructed of sod and spruce boughs. They performed their duties with a recklessness and an indifference to danger which was probably in a measure the result of their inexperience in such affairs. They laughed at the scientific instructions of Bastide, an eminent engineer, who arrived, late in the siege, from Annapolis to assist in the operations against the fortress. Indeed, no regular force could hardly have performed the same labours with as much confidence and zeal as these men animated by religious as well as patriotic motives, and feeling the honour and prestige of New England so deeply involved in the success of an enterprise thoroughly colonial in its inception and execution.

By the eighteenth day of the siege the batteries began to show their work on the walls at the west gate, the principal point of attack. Then occurred another event of even greater importance than the evacuation of the grand battery, and that was the capture of the French man of war *Vigilante*, manned by five hundred men and armed with sixty-four guns, which had arrived off the harbour with a cargo of stores for the town, and which had taken the place of the spring ship that had been accidentally burnt in Brest harbour during the spring of this year. This success raised the hopes of the land forces, who were beginning to feel that unless the island battery was destroyed and the fleet enabled to enter the harbour to join in a combined attack on the fortress, the siege might continue indefinitely until succour could arrive from France and Louisbourg be saved from its perilous position. An attack that was made on this battery by a large force proved a disastrous failure, and sixty men were killed and one hundred and sixteen made prisoners by the French. This unfortunate expedition appears to have been undertaken chiefly to satisfy the pressing demands of Warren that no time should be lost in making a simultaneous assault by the army and fleet on the fortress, as there was every likelihood of succour reaching the French at any moment. The confident and impetuous Vaughan appears to have been among the ardent promoters of this enterprise, the practicability and wisdom of which were doubted by the majority of the colonial officers except, strange to say, by the cool and judicious Pepperrell himself. The expedition was composed mostly of volunteers from the troops and transports, and was headed by a Captain Brooks whose head, according to one account, was split in two by a cutlass as he was attempting to haul down the French flag in the battery into which it is believed he and a few other brave fellows succeeded in forcing their way.

¹ Douglass' "Summary," i. 352.

² "All the ticklenburgh and small canvas in the province was purchased by the committee of war, but for a great part of the tents they were forced to buy common oznaburgs."—Belknap, "Hist. of New Hamp.," ii. 377 n.

It became then an absolute necessity that a battery on Lighthouse Point should be built without delay, and after herculean exertions cannon were dragged over the precipitous hills and dangerous morasses to the chosen place. A mortar was brought to supplement the ordinary artillery, and then day by day the battery and fleet kept up a heavy cannonade on the island work until its fire slackened, its walls began to fall, and it was becoming rapidly useless. By the eleventh of June the fate of the town was practically decided. The French garrison, worn out by their exertions, saw the breaches at the west gate and the adjacent defences daily widening, the guns of the circular battery almost silenced, all the buildings in the town riddled with shot and hardly fit to live in, the island battery on the point of total destruction, and the land and naval forces of the enemy making preparations for a combined attack on the fortress. It was just at this juncture that Pepperrell and Warren decided on a piece of strategy which they thought would probably be effective in disheartening the French garrison. A body of Indians having not long before barbarously tortured and killed a few of the colonial troops whom they had surprised at Petit Lorembec, it was determined to bring this fact to the knowledge of M. Duchambon by means of the late commandant of the *Vigilante*, whose loss, the English suspected, was still unknown to the French. This officer, the Marquis de Maisonfort, was given proof of the kindly treatment of the French prisoners on board the English vessels, and was then asked to write informing the French governor of the fact and asking similar treatment for the English prisoners. When the French commandant and his officers received this information they expressed their surprise and consternation in the presence of the bearer of the letter who they thought was ignorant of the French language. M. Duchambon in his reply disavowed all responsibility for the cruelty of the Indians whom he would do his best to warn against committing such acts in the future, while at the same time he dwelt on the fact that the English prisoners in his hands, sick or wounded, had always received as many attentions as if they were subjects of the French king. The flag of truce, however, had the effect which it was intended it should have upon the garrison and people of Louisbourg. As if their condition was not already sufficiently distressing, they heard now for the first time that the ship which they had been hoping might evade the blockading fleet and make its way into port, was actually in the possession of the enemy, and its very guns directed against the town which it was intended to assist. Without a prospect of speedy assistance from France, the situation of the French became more gloomy, while that of the besieging forces was improved by additions to the ships. Warren had been reinforced by vessels from Newfoundland and England, and had now under his orders a fleet of eleven ships armed in all with five hundred guns, including the *Vigilante*, and exclusive of the colonial vessels.¹ It was decided to make a general assault on the fifteenth of June and accordingly all the ships were ranged in a line off the harbour, and the troops mustered in full force, when Duchambon, recognizing the uselessness of further resistance, opened negotiations with Pepperrell and Warren, and agreed

¹ Douglass, "Summary of the British Settlements" (i. 351, *n.*) enumerates the English fleet as follows: Commodore Warren's West India fleet—the *Superbe* of 50 guns, the *Launceston* of 40, and the *Mermaid* of 40; the *Vigilante* of 64, manned after the capture on May 19 by New England men mostly. May 22, the *Princess Mary* of 60 and the *Hector* of 40, from England *via* Boston. June 10, the *Chester* of 50, from England. June 12, the *Canterbury* of 60, the *Sunderland* of 40, and the *Lark* of 40, all called in from Newfoundland; the *Eltham* of 40, called in from convoying the New England mastships for England.

to surrender the town on the condition that the garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war.¹

On the afternoon of June the 17th General Pepperrell marched at the head of his army through the west or Dauphin gate into the town, and received the keys from the commandant, who, with his garrison drawn up in line, received him in the King's bastion. Warren, after taking possession of the Island battery, which had so long proved a formidable obstruction to the entrance of the fleet, came into the harbour, and then amid a general salute from the ships and batteries the English flag was hoisted on the walls of the French fortress. As soon as the city was formally handed over to the English the French flag was kept for a few days on the citadel with the view of deceiving any French vessels that might make the port. This strategem had a remarkable success, for it

¹ The express terms of the capitulation are set forth in the following ultimatum from Pepperrell and Warren to Duchambon:

"CAMP BEFORE LOUISBOURG, 16th June, 1745.

"1st. That if your own vessels shall be found insufficient for the transportation of your persons and proposed effects to France, we will supply such a number of other vessels as may be sufficient for that purpose; also, any provisions necessary for the voyage which you cannot furnish yourselves with.

"2nd. That all the commissioned officers belonging to the garrison and the inhabitants of the town may remain in their houses, with their families, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and no person shall be suffered to misuse or molest any of them till such time as they can conveniently be transported to France.

"3rd. That the non-commissioned officers and soldiers shall, immediately upon the surrender of the town and fortress, be put on board his Britannic Majesty's ships, till they all be transported to France.

"4th. That all your sick and wounded shall be taken tender care of in the same manner as our own.

"5th. That the commander-in-chief, now in garrison, shall have liberty to send off covered wagons, to be inspected only by one officer of ours, that no warlike stores may be contained therein.

"6th. That if there be any persons in the town or garrison which may desire shall not be seen by us, they shall be permitted to go off masked.

"7th. The above we do consent to and promise, upon your compliance with the following conditions:

"1. That the said surrender, and due performance of every part of the aforesaid premises, be made and completed as soon as possible.

"2. That, as a security for the punctual performance of the same, the island battery, or one of the batteries of the town, shall be delivered, together with the warlike stores thereunto belonging, into the possession of his Britannic Majesty's troops before 6 o'clock this evening.

"3. That his said Britannic Majesty's ships of war now lying before the port shall be permitted to enter the harbour of Louisbourg without any molestation, as soon after six of the clock this afternoon as the commander-in-chief of said ships shall think fit.

"4. That none of the officers, soldiers nor inhabitants in Louisbourg, who are subjects of the French king, shall take up arms against his Britannic Majesty, nor any of his allies, until after the expiration of the full term of twelve months from this time.

"5. That all subjects of his Britannic Majesty, who are now prisoners with you, shall be immediately delivered up to us.

"In case of your non-compliance with these conditions, we decline any further treaty with you on the affair, and shall decide the matter by our arms, and are, etc."

Governor Duchambon accepted the terms on the conditions set forth in the following letter from General Pepperrell:

"SIR,—I have yours, by an hostage, signifying your assent to the surrender of the town and fortress of Louisbourg, and the territories adjacent, etc., on the terms this day proposed to you by Commodore Warren and myself, excepting only that you desire your troops may march out of the garrison with their arms, and colours flying, to be then delivered into our custody till the said troops' arrival in France, at which time to have them returned to them—which I consent to, and send you an hostage for the performance of what we have promised; and have sent to Commodore Warren, that, if he consents to it, he would send a detachment on shore to take possession of the island battery." On the same day Commodore Warren agreed to the same conditions, "on consideration of your gallant defence." Parsons' "Life of Pepperrell," 95-99, and the Quebec "Collection de documents relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France," iii. 221-226, publish this correspondence in full.

led to the capture of several ships laden with valuable cargoes, valued at £175,000 sterling; but the most important prize was the frigate "Notre Dame de la Délivrance," laden with cacao under which were hidden nearly two millions of Peruvian dollars, besides a considerable amount of gold and silver in ingots and bars, probably four million dollars altogether. Among the passengers was a distinguished scientific man, Don Antonio De Ulloa, who had been associated with some members of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris in measuring an arc of the meridian under the equator in South America. Two other French frigates, the Marquis d'Antin and the Louis Érasme, which were in company with the Délivrance, had been captured with their rich cargoes of gold and silver by some English privateers five degrees to the westward of the Island of Flores, and the captain of the latter vessel, which received much damage in the action, considered it most expedient to seek safety at Louisbourg, where he confidently expected to find a considerable French fleet at a time when France was at war with a maritime power. DeUlloa has left us an interesting account¹ of his voyages in South America, and of his visit to Louisbourg under circumstances disheartening to men who thought they were in safety until they found their vessel was a prize to two English men-of-war, the Sunderland and Chester. DeUlloa was treated with every consideration due to so eminent a man, and all his scientific papers were carefully preserved and handed back to him on his arrival in London.

When the English colonists surveyed the state of the town they had abundant evidence of the execution that their artillery had done in every part. "All the houses," says one eye witness,² "one only excepted, had some shot through them more or less; some had their roofs beat down with bombs; as for the famous citadel and hospital, they were almost demolished by bombs and shot."

By the articles of capitulation the garrison and residents of Louisbourg were to be transported to France as soon as possible on condition that none of them who were subjects of the French king should take up arms against England or any of her allies for twelve months from the date of the document. Altogether six hundred and fifty veteran troops, thirteen hundred and ten militia, the crew of the Vigilante—five hundred and sixty altogether—and two thousand inhabitants, as far as can be ascertained, subsequently embarked for Rochefort. A discrepancy exists between the English and French accounts as to the number of French killed during the siege. Duchambon states it to be fifty, and adds that ninety-five were wounded and very many ill on account of the hardships they suffered. It is generally believed that the number of killed was greater, but there are no reliable data at hand. The total loss of the English, including the number of those who died from dysentery and other complaints, due to exposure and severe toil on the damp ground in the vicinity of the town, is given at one hundred and thirty men in all. Seventy-six cannon and mortars, and a considerable quantity of provisions and munitions of war fell into the hands of the English. Duchambon declares also that he had only a small quantity of powder left at the time of the capitulation, and that he had actually used sixty-seven thousand kegs, but, as an historian³ of the siege very truly says, "this statement is incredible, for supposing that each keg contained only twenty-five pounds,

¹ See App. X to this work for a reference to his work giving his impressions of Louisbourg.

² Gibson, "Journal of the Siege."

³ Brown, "Hist. of Cape Breton," p. 234.

he must in this case have expended seven hundred and fifty tons of powder in forty-eight days, or fifteen tons per day." When we carefully read the governor's report, written on the 2nd of September, it is quite evident that he endeavours to exaggerate any fact that may create the impression that he made every possible effort to prevent the town falling into the hands of the English. Whatever mistakes he made previous to the siege, it must be admitted that he fought bravely for the town afterwards, despite the difficulties that surrounded him. He was unable to obtain any assistance from other parts of the island. The settlements of Port Toulouse, Port Dauphin and Inganiche had been captured by the English, one before and the others during the progress of the siege by vessels detailed for that purpose by Commodore Warren. The governor's attempt to recall a considerable number of Canadians and Indians who had been sent under a Canadian officer, *Sieur Marin*, to attack Port Royal was unsuccessful. Some small bodies of French and Indians attempted to harass the colonial troops, as the siege went on, but they were easily repulsed and scattered. The soldiers and militia fought courageously, but it is said the officers had no confidence in their men since the mutiny and prevented the commandant from ordering more than one sortie, and that was practically a failure. The governor, however, does not hesitate to "render justice to all the officers of the garrison and to the soldiers and to the inhabitants who defended the place, all of whom have generally supported the labours of the siege with a courage without parallel during the one hundred and sixteen days it lasted,"—the figures here given being another evidence of his inaccuracy in all matters of statistics. The brave conduct of the garrison cannot, with all the evidence before us, be denied, and had Duchambon shown any foresight before the expedition arrived, the colonial troops would probably have found the task before them much more difficult of accomplishment.

The siege had lasted in all forty-seven days and must always be remembered as among the most glorious exploits ever achieved by a body of volunteers. When the news reached England and the colonies there were general rejoicings at so great a victory. Boston, New York and Philadelphia were illuminated, and public thanksgivings were offered in all the churches of New England for this memorable triumph of colonial troops. In the parent state it created much enthusiasm at a time when the public mind was dismayed by the news of disaster on the continent, and there was a spirit of unrest abroad throughout the British islands. Cannon thundered from the Tower and the Park, while the city was ablaze with bonfires and resounded with the huzzas of joyous processions of citizens surprised and delighted at the success of their fellow countrymen in the new world. It did not take long, however, for this victory to be forgotten; for when, a few years later, the American colonies had asserted their independence of England, and the question of the capture of Louisbourg came up incidentally in a discussion in the British Parliament, it was attempted to give all the credit to Commodore Warren and ignore the all important part performed by the colonial expedition. Some English historians in later times have not thought it worth while to mention this victory, which Smollett considered "the most important achievement of the war of 1745." Even Green, in his "History of the English People"—a work remarkable for its scholarly and lucid style—speaks of the capture of Louisberg (*sic*) by Amherst and Wolfe as "a brilliant success," but he forgot in the previous part of his work, when writing of the year of Fontenoy, of its successes and failures, to mention the triumph of the colonial troops on the western

continent. The writer has now before him a new encyclopædia¹ just issued by the European press, and turning to the subject of Louisbourg we find that "it was strongly fortified under the French but was taken by the British in 1763"—a statement not only remarkable for the omission of any mention of 1745, but for the inaccuracy of the date given in the second instance. *Sic transit gloria mundi*, especially when the matter is one requiring some knowledge of the history or the geography of a colony.

As respects Pepperrell and Warren, it is not necessary for us to depreciate the claims of one, in order to elevate the reputation of the other. We know as a matter of fact and not of controversy that the expedition was conceived, carried out, and actually on its way to Louisbourg before Warren made his appearance. In fact, when it had started, Pepperrell heard of the refusal of the English Commodore to sail without orders, and there was no guarantee that he would come at all. Like a true English sailor, when he joined the expedition he supported it with all his energy and ability. Without his blockade of the port, the *Vigilante* could not have been taken. In fact, so effective was the blockade, that during the siege only one small vessel, "a snow" from Bordeaux, succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the fleet, and entering the port on a dark and stormy night. His presence not only gave confidence to the colonial troops but worried the garrison, who felt that as long as his fleet lay off the harbour there was little prospect of aid reaching them from Canada or France. All the heavy and dangerous work, however, fell on the colonial troops, and had it not been for their successful efforts to erect a battery on the Light-house Point, and mount it with cannon under great difficulties, they would never have been able to weaken the island battery so as to enable the fleet to take part in the general assault that was contemplated when Duchambon decided to surrender the town. All that Warren was able to do for the land forces in the conduct of the siege operations was to send them a few gunners and supplement their supply of powder which very soon ran short.² On the other hand, it is fair to state that had not the colonial expedition received the hearty co-operation of the fleet, the result would have been problematical, though, when we consider the spirit that prompted the colonial expedition and the determination that was exhibited from its beginning to the capture of the fortress, we can well believe that they would not hastily have given up the contest. All this, however, is mere speculation in the face of the fact that the colonial troops achieved a brilliant victory as a result of their hardihood and pluck, and while Warren did his duty as a brave sailor and his fleet was most necessary to the success of the expedition, it is after all to the land force and not to him that the chief honour is due. It was then only an act of justice to the English Commodore that when he presented himself with General Pepperrell in Boston, nearly a year later, that they should be both handsomely received and publicly thanked by the general council of Massachusetts' Bay for the great services they had rendered to England and her colonial peoples.

Great dissatisfaction was felt in consequence of the army receiving no share whatever of the great treasure which was captured in the *Délivrance* and other ships, and was divided between the Crown and the British officers and sailors in accordance with the ordinary naval rules, which might well have been modified under the exceptional circumstances. The colonial forces were also disappointed in the amount of booty they found in

¹ "The Modern Cyclopædia," (London 1890-91) edited by Charles Annandale, M.A., LL.D.

² See App. X to this work.

Louisbourg, where the inhabitants were for the most part poor and had few valuables which their captors could steal; but as a matter of fact Pepperrell and Warren promised that the inhabitants and their families could depend "on meeting the best treatment, nor shall any person be suffered to give them the least disturbance." Not only were the colonial troops disappointed in not finding any "loot"—to use a word familiar a century later—but the government of Massachusetts saw itself in extreme financial difficulties, largely on account of the heavy expenditures incurred by an already crippled province for the Louisbourg expedition. It was not until over three years had passed away and it was decided to restore Cape Breton to the French, that the imperial government found it expedient to appease the colonists by reimbursing them for their expenses in winning a victory, rendered worthless by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1749, the sum of £183,649 sterling arrived in Boston, in the shape of six hundred and fifty three thousand ounces of silver, and ten tons of copper, which were carried in waggons through the streets of Boston and subsequently divided among the governments of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts—the latter deservedly and legally receiving the greater portion. Those were days of paper money, when men thought they could get rich and pay their debts by the fresh issues of paper whenever the treasury was empty, and chiefly owing to the efforts of Thomas Hutchinson, the historian, a wise and energetic public man who was speaker of the house of representatives at the time, and subsequently royal governor and chief justice during his residence in the colony, the money paid to Massachusetts was used to buy up and cancel the depreciated paper currency.¹

Before we resume the history of Cape Breton and narrate the events in Europe which led to its eventually becoming a permanent possession of England, it is but due to the men who took part in this memorable episode of colonial history to tell something of their subsequent career. The colonial forces, for the greater part, were obliged to remain in Louisbourg all the following winter until the arrival of a garrison of regular troops from England. Immediately after the fall of the town, the weather, which had been remarkably free for seven weeks from fogs and rain, became damp and unhealthy, with the unfortunate effect that the troops, worn out by fatigue for weeks, succumbed to dysentery, and several hundreds found a grave on a point of land between the town and the rocky beach, known as Point Rochefort. In the spring, as soon as troops arrived from Gibraltar, Warren and Pepperrell, who had acted as joint governors until that time, went to Boston, and, after receiving the thanks of the citizens, the former proceeded to England. Before this, however, he had been promoted for his services at Louisbourg to the rank of rear admiral of the blue. In 1747 he distinguished himself in the great naval fight off Cape Finisterre, in which he and Anson defeated a large French fleet under Jonquière and St. George. A monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, that Walhalla of England's great men, tells us that he died in the forty-ninth year of his age, "a knight of the Bath, vice-admiral of the red squadron of the British fleet, and member of parliament for the city and liberty of Westminster."² Captain Tyng, who commanded

¹ See Parson's "Life of Pepperrell," 207; "Hutchinson's History" ii. 394-396; "Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography," art. "Hutchinson."

² Usher Parsons, in his "Life of Pepperrell," is not correct when he gives a baronetcy to Warren. Belknap, "History of New Hampshire," ii. 223, makes the same mistake. Murdoch quotes the epitaph in Westminster Abbey (History, ii. 69-111), and says that the distinction of the Bath was "but rarely bestowed" in those days.

the naval contingent of the New England expedition, does not afterwards appear in the history of the times; but the officer next in rank, Captain Rous of the Shirley galley, a two-masted vessel, with twenty-four guns, was of great assistance to the royal sloop Mermaid in the capture of the Vigilante,¹ and after the capture of the town he carried duplicate despatches communicating the news to the government of England, where his vessel was taken into the British service, and he himself received a commission as post captain in the royal navy. He took part in various expeditions for the reduction of French America, and assisted in the second siege of Louisbourg. It was on board his ship that General Wolfe issued his last order before proceeding to ascend the heights of Quebec. He became, in later life, a member of the executive council of Nova Scotia, and settled in the city of Halifax, at the foundation of which he was present as a commander of one of the ships that accompanied Governor Cornwallis to the province. Of all the officers of the colonial land forces General Wolcott was the most advanced in years, but he lived to speak of this memorable expedition until the ripe age of eighty-nine, and to fill the responsible position of governor of his province.² His name has been rendered famous, not only by his part in the Louisbourg siege, but by his grandson, who was one of the signers of the declaration of independence. Lieutenant-Colonel Moulton, who had seen much service in the wars with the Indians previous to 1745, filled several important positions in the town of York, a place full of historic memories, in the state of Maine. Among the tombstones of the burying ground, where the grass grows rank and matted, there is one on which can still be deciphered, with a little trouble, the name, and part of the epitaph, of one of those stern old Puritan ministers who accompanied the expedition to Louisbourg. The whole epitaph once read as follows:

"Here lies the body of the
 REVD. SAMUEL MOODY, A. M.
 The zealous, faithful, and successful pastor of the
 First Church of Christ in York.
 Was born in Newbury, January 4th, 1675.
 Graduated 1697. Came hither, May 16th.
 Died here November 13th, 1747.
 For his further character read the 2nd Corinthians,
 3rd chapter and first six verses."

This old clergyman of York, an uncle of Mrs. Pepperrell, appears to have been remarkable for the length of his prayers, and it is related of him, that, when he was called upon to ask a blessing at a banquet given by the general to his officers at Louisbourg, in celebration of its capture, the guests awaited his performance with fear and trembling; but greatly to their surprise, instead of the long, tedious grace they expected, he contented himself with a few memorable words which appear now to have given him a position in history that none of his prolix sermons or supplications could possibly have done.

¹ A galley is described as usually a snow, as the largest two-masted vessels were often called, and would seem to have carried all her guns on a continuous deck, without the higher tiers at the end, which was customary with frigates, built low only at the waist. See Preble, "N. E. H. & Gen. Reg.," 1868, p. 396, cited by the "Nar. & Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 438, n. C. H. Smith (*ib.* 411) has inaccurately given credit to Tyng for this exploit.

² Mr. D. Brymner ("Can. Archives," 1886) appears to think Wolcott was governor when he joined the expedition; the best authorities mention him as deputy-governor.

"Good God," he said, "we have so many things to thank you for, that time will be infinitely too short to do it; we must therefore leave it for the work of eternity. Bless our food and fellowship upon this joyful occasion, for the sake of Christ our Lord, Amen."

Lieutenant-Colonel Meserve, who originated the plan of moving the cannon and heavy material of war by sledges, was engaged in 1756 in the expedition commanded by Abercromby and Winslow and subsequently took part in the second siege of Louisbourg in charge of a number of ship carpenters with the rank of Colonel—he being himself a ship carpenter by vocation—and died there from an attack of small pox, which also carried off many others. Colonel Bradstreet made his name famous in after years by his military genius, first developed in the siege of Louisbourg. He became governor of Newfoundland, and was actively engaged in the campaign for the reduction of French Canada. In 1759 he took and destroyed Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario which, says the eminent historian of those times, was "the heaviest blow, next to Louisbourg, that the French had yet received," since it meant that "their command of Lake Ontario was gone," and "New France was cut in two and unless the severed parts could speedily reunite, all the posts of the interior would be in imminent jeopardy."¹ Colonel Richard Gridley, who was the artillery man of the Louisbourg expedition *par excellence*, distinguished himself at Bunker Hill when in later times, the same undaunted class of men who followed Pepperrell to Cape Breton stood so successfully the shock of their first great encounter with the regular forces of England. Brigadier-General Waldo, who was third in rank at Louisbourg, commanded one of the Maine regiments which formed part of the unsuccessful expedition that Massachusetts organized in 1746 and 1747 under the inspiration of Shirley, for the object of laying siege to Crown Point, and died on the eve of the great struggle which ended in the loss of Canada and Louisiana to France. Colonel Titcomb who gave a name to one of the most important works of the besieging forces, served in the Seven Years' War and died a soldier's death in the memorable battle at Lake George, where William Johnson² of New York—a nephew of Admiral Warren and a famous character in colonial history—and Phineas Lyman of Connecticut—a lawyer by profession and a soldier by the necessity of those times—defeated the Baron Dieskau at the head of a large force of French and Indians.

Nor can we well pass by, in this connection, the name of another officer—Captain Cobb of a Massachusetts regiment—who afterwards took part in the siege of 1758, and occupied a somewhat prominent place in the early history of Nova Scotia. Sylvanus Cobb of Plymouth, New England—sometimes incorrectly called Sylvester—was a captain in Gorham's force. It is said that his company was the first that appeared in Boston in response to the call for men to take part in the expedition. He served with distinction throughout the siege and subsequently remained in the public service of Nova Scotia. He commanded a provincial armed vessel that was ordered to cruise in 1747-8 in the Bay of Fundy. In 1758 he conducted Wolfe to make a reconnaissance of Louisbourg. As they neared the shore under a heavy fire—the General and Cobb alone standing on the deck, the latter at the helm—General Wolfe observed that they had approached as near

¹ Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," ii. 129.

² Usher Parsons is incorrect in saying (p. 352) that Sir W. Johnson was appointed "governor of Upper Canada, 1796." General Simcoe was lieutenant-governor of that province at that time. See "Cyclopædia of Am. Biography" (Art. Johnson) where the inaccuracy is pointed out.

as he wished for his purpose. Cobb made another tack, and as they went about the General remarked, "Well, Cobb, I shall not doubt that you will carry me near enough." Cobb went back to Plymouth after the campaign, but he was heard of subsequently at Liverpool, in Nova Scotia, where he is said to have built a house. He died of a prevalent epidemic at the siege of Havana in 1762, expressing his regret that he had not met a soldier's fate at the cannon's mouth.¹

The leader of the New England forces, without whose personal popularity, excellent judgment, and cool courage the expedition could never have been successful, was rewarded by the English government with a baronetcy, the first distinction of the kind ever given to a colonist. His subsequent public career until his death at the age of sixty-three, on the 6th of July, 1759—only a few years before the outbreak of the war of independence—was distinguished by the same fidelity to the British crown and affection for his native country, that had induced him to attach himself to the expedition of 1745. He gave up his time and expended much of his money in assisting his countrymen in their effort to drive France from America, and through his instrumentality one of the finest frigates in the British navy, the *America*, was built in a shipyard of New England and a royal regiment raised to assist in the operations in North America. No man ever died more universally regretted in the English colonies than this eminent representative of the sturdy and resolute New England character. He died before he saw his country precipitated into a war with England which he loved and revered. His only son had died in early manhood, and his once great possessions, which stretched for nearly thirty miles from the Piscataqua to the Saco, were scattered by confiscation and sale among those who did not bear his name. His grandson, William Pepperrell Sparhawk, whose mother was the only daughter of Sir William, and who had been adopted by his grandfather as heir to his estate, on condition of dropping the name of Sparhawk, was permitted eventually to bear the title as a reward for having remained faithful to England during the trying times before the war of independence.² He lived the greater part of his life in England—from 1775 to 1816, when he died—where he received a pension from the government, and was always noted for his kindness and hospitality to all his countrymen who claimed his aid and sympathy. Two of the older Sir William's descendants—his daughter's grandsons—in later times were "only saved from the poorhouse by the bounty

¹ His only daughter married Colonel W. Freeman of Liverpool, N.S.; their descendants are well known in the western part of that province. His younger brother, Jabez, also settled at the same place. See Bissell's "History of Plymouth," 189; Murdoch, "Nova Scotia," ii. 348; Akins's "Archives of N.S.," 182 n.

² In more than one American account of Sir W. Pepperrell there is an error as to the way the grandson obtained his title. Parsons (p. 337) writes of the old baronet, on the death of his son Andrew, having adopted his grandson "as heir to his estate and title," and adds that the latter actually succeeded to the title in October, 1774. As Sir William's only son died unmarried, and his grandson, William Sparhawk, was only the *second* son of his daughter, the title became extinct on his death, since it could descend by heirs male alone. If the grandson had had a legal right to the title, it would have descended to him in 1759, when his grandfather died, and not, as Parsons says, in 1775. The fact is, he received the title fifteen years after Sir William's death as a reward for his fidelity to English connection. He inherited the estate in accordance with his grandfather's will, and assumed the name of Pepperrell by an act of the Massachusetts legislature. See Ward's account of the Pepperrells in the appendix (p. 619) to "Journals and Letters of Samuel Curwen" (ed. of 1864). In Appleton's "Cyclo. of Am. Biog." it is actually stated that the grandson assumed his grandfather's title by an act of the colonial legislature, when not even the imperial parliament could have conferred such a dignity—it is a prerogative of the sovereign, "the fountain of honour" under the English constitution.

of some individuals on whom they had no claim for favour."¹ His tomb even was neglected for years, until at last it was repaired by a New England lady who claimed a connection with his family, and it is now an object of interest to the curious tourists who frequent the pleasant summer resort that has grown up in the vicinity of his old home on the picturesque shore of "hundred harboured Maine."²

France had heard with dismay of the loss of Cape Breton which she now recognized as the key to her possessions on the St. Lawrence, and made two efforts to recover it before the war closed in 1748. One of the noblest fleets that ever sailed from the shores of France, under the command of M. de la Rochefoucauld, the Duke d'Anville, was scattered to the winds while on its way to the island, and the unfortunate admiral himself died of an apoplectic seizure while counting his losses in the harbour of Chebouctou.³

The unfortunate nobleman was a member of one of the oldest and most illustrious families of France, immortalized by the author of the famous maxims and memoirs which still remain unequalled for their literary taste and style, and their wealth of astute and practical philosophy. While distinguished for a highly cultured mind, he appears to have had no experience at sea, though he had entered the naval service of France at an early age. It is easy to understand that the disasters that overwhelmed his noble fleet should have so disturbed his sensitive brain as to cause his sudden death. Canadian historians have heretofore given his place of burial as a small island at the entrance of Halifax harbour, generally believed to be George's Island where Cornwallis in 1849 landed a number of settlers and a fort was subsequently erected for the protection of the new town. It has, however, recently come to light that the duke's body was not allowed to remain for any long time on English soil. It appears from an official report of Monsieur Desbrières⁴ who became governor of Cape Breton after its formal surrender in the July of 1749, that he obtained a promise from Colonel Hopson, the English governor of the island, that the duke's remains should not be disturbed at Chebouctou, but that they should be sent to Louisbourg, if the place of burial could be found. This promise, the French governor

¹ Parson's "Life of Pepperrell," 328.

² S. A. Drake, "Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast," (N.Y., 1875) p. 147. In App. IX and X to this work is given a bibliographical and critical review of the English and French authorities on the siege of 1745.

³ The news of the sailing of this expedition created great consternation in New England, and towards the end of September, says an eye witness, Dr. William Douglass, author of "Summary of the British Settlements" (See App. X to this work) "6400 men from the country, well armed, appeared on the Boston Common; some of them from Brookfield travelled 700 miles in two days, each with a pack (in which was provision for 14 days) of about a bushel corn weight." Supplications went up from all the pulpits for assistance in the hour of need, and Rev. Thomas Prince, who had a year before preached a thanksgiving sermon on the fall of Louisbourg (See App. X.) now fervently prayed in the old South Church at Boston, when he heard the windows rattle with the coming of the storm.

"Oh Lord! we would not advise,
But if in thy providence
A tempest should arise,
To drive the French fleet hence,
And scatter it far and wide,
Or sink it in the sea
We should be satisfied,
And thine the glory be."

This was the prayer I made,
For my soul was all on flame,
And even as I prayed,
The answering tempest came.
It came with a mighty power,
Shaking the windows and halls,
And tolling the bell in the tower,
As it tolls at funerals.

—From Longfellow's "Ballad of the French Fleet," October, 1746; Mr. Thomas Prince loquitur. See Prince's "Thanksgiving Sermon on the Salvation of God in 1746" (Boston, 1746.)

⁴ Quebec Documents, iii, 455-456.

informs us, was promptly kept. The ship *Grand Esprit*, in the month of September, brought the body to the French port, where it was received with all the honours which were due to the rank and birth of so distinguished a man. It was buried in the parish or king's chapel, at the foot of the altar in the sanctuary, with all the solemn ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church; and here his dust, in the course of years, mingled with the ruins of the citadel which was levelled to the ground when the fortifications were destroyed in 1760.

But the misfortunes of the French did not cease with the sudden death of the unlucky duke. His successor, M. d'Estournelle, committed suicide in a fit of despondency, and the remnant of the great fleet which was to restore the fortunes of France in America returned home without having even succeeded in capturing the half-ruined fort at Annapolis. Another fleet under M. de St. George and the Marquis de La Jonquière—the latter of whom had accompanied the former fleet and was afterwards governor of Canada—never reached its destination but was defeated, as already stated, off Cape Finisterre by admirals Anson and Warren, and it was for his services on this occasion that Warren was made a knight of the Bath.

VI. REVIEW OF EVENTS FROM THE RESTORATION OF CAPE BRETON TO FRANCE IN 1748 UNTIL THE SECOND SIEGE AND TAKING OF LOUISBOURG IN 1758.

But while storm and battle kept the French from Cape Breton, English diplomacy, careless of colonial interests, restored the island to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle¹ in return for the commercial post of Madras which had been captured by the French in the east where England and France had already obtained a foothold. It is asserted that extremely unfavourable accounts, given of the island by Commodore Knowles,² who succeeded Pepperrell and Warren in the government of Louisbourg, had some influence on the British ministry in inducing them to give it up so hastily; but in all probability while they attached little importance to a spot which they believed to possess a barren soil and exposed to constant fog and storm, it was the persistency of the French to regain possession of so valuable a bulwark to their great dominion in Canada that forced the English ministry to restore it at a time when the nation was disheartened at the results of the war on the continent and inclined to call a truce.

It was only a truce in Europe, "a mere pause in the struggle, during which both parties hoped to gain strength for a mightier conflict which they saw impending."³ In America it was not even a cessation of hostilities until the war was again formally proclaimed between France and England in 1756. If we briefly survey the situation previous to the great contest which ended in the destruction of Louisbourg, and in the loss of Canada to France, we can see that the latter had been steadily aiming for years to attain the supremacy in America. During the two decades which preceded the loss of

¹ See App. XVI to this work for text of this treaty so far as it relates to Cape Breton.

² This was the same Knowles, afterwards Admiral, who on a visit to Boston in November, 1747, sent a press gang ashore to seize men for his ships, in place of a number who had deserted on their arrival. A serious riot was the result, and Knowles was obliged to let most, if not all, of his recruits go, while he sailed off with his squadron. Hildreth, "Hist. of the U. S.," ii. 399-400; Hutchinson, "Hist. of Mass.," ii. 386-388.

³ Green, "History of the English People," iv. 164.

Canada she was fortunate at having at the head of affairs in that country men of cool judgment, admirable sagacity and national ambition like La Galissonnière, Duquesne and Montcalm. The bravest of them all, Montcalm, was destined by relentless fate to efface forever by his death on the battlefield those plans of supremacy in America which the men who preceded him in New France had conceived and inscribed on the early page of Canadian history. Ill-supported as La Galissonnière and Duquesne were by the king and his ministers, engaged in a colossal and losing struggle in Europe, and more ready to listen to the blandishments of mistresses like the false, worthless Pompadour, than to the claims for aid of the struggling colonists in America, they carried out their design of establishing France in America with great skill and energy, despite the relatively feeble means at their command. We have already seen how much had been achieved before the first fall of Louisbourg in establishing forts and means of communication between the distant possessions of Canada and Louisiana, and confining the English colonists between the Alleghanies and the sea. If we take up a map of the continent as it appeared seven years after the restoration of Cape Breton to France, we see clearly outlined her ambitious designs in the construction of forts and posts at particular points, chosen with great discretion, on the great lakes, in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Conscious of the mistake that was made in restoring Acadie, they now claimed that its limits did not extend beyond the isthmus of Chignecto, and proceeded to construct the forts of Gaspereau and Beauséjour on that neck of land, and also one on the St. John river, so that they might control the land and sea approaches to Cape Breton from the St. Lawrence, where Quebec, enthroned on her picturesque heights, and Montreal, at the confluence of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, held the keys to Canada. The approaches by the way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu were defended by the fort of St. John, at the northern extremity of the lake, and by the more formidable works known as Fort Frederick or Crown Point—to give the better known English name—at the narrows towards the south. The latter was the most advanced post of the French until they built Fort Ticonderoga or Carillon on a high, rocky promontory at the head of Lake Sacrament, afterwards called Lake George by General Johnson—a sheet of water always famed for its picturesque charms. At the foot of this lake, associated with so many memorable episodes in American history, General Johnson, in 1755, erected Fort William Henry, about fourteen miles from Fort Edward or Lyman, at the great carrying place on the upper waters of the Hudson. Returning to the St. Lawrence and the lakes, we find Fort Frontenac, already mentioned, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, where the old sleepy city of Kingston now stands. At the other extremity of this lake was Niagara, the most important key to the west. At Detroit, Mackinaw and the Sault the French continued to hold possession of the great lakes. Their communications, then, between the head of Lake Superior and Quebec were perfect, but between the great valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, over which they claimed exclusive rights, there was another valley which became of great importance in the execution of their scheme of continental dominion. This was the valley of the Ohio, into which the adventurous men of Pennsylvania and Virginia were already slowly feeling their way in the years succeeding the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Virginia had received from the Iroquois a deed which gave it, as its rulers believed, a sound title to the Great West, and a company was already formed to occupy Ohio. It was in this valley that we

find the famous son of Virginia, George Washington, first entering upon the theatre of national action, and endeavouring to vindicate the claims of his countrymen to that rich region. The astute Duquesne, in furtherance of the plans of his able predecessor, La Galissonnière, built posts at the northwest approaches of the Ohio, and seized the Virginian forts at the forks of the river, where the French erected a fort to which they gave the name of the French governor of the day.¹ The French and English colonies joined issue in this valley, which formed so necessary an avenue of communication between Canada and Louisiana; and when the Seven Years' War broke out the French had won the mastery, and their line of communications was complete from the Gulf of Mexico as far as the shores of Acadie and Cape Breton, by means of a chain of forts at points in the Mississippi, the Ohio and the St. Lawrence valleys; in fact, from New Orleans to Louisbourg.²

The French Canadian plans were developed by high statesmanship and carried out with military genius, and had there been enough men in Canada to hold the country and contend against the combined forces of England and her colonies, the dominion of France might have been assured in America. The thirteen colonies might well fear the future, as they saw their security threatened by the posts of France slowly closing around them, shutting them out of the Ohio valley and on the way to confine them to the narrow range of country which they occupied between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies. Happily for the future destiny of the English colonies, Canada was very much inferior in wealth and resources to those countries, and incapable of carrying on a long and exhaustive struggle, while France, busy with her ambitious designs in Europe, gave but a meagre support to the men who had dreams of founding a mighty empire in America. When France and England met for the last great struggle in America, the thirteen colonies had reached a population of nearly a million and a quarter of souls, exclusive of the negroes in the south, while the total number of the people in Canada and Louisiana did not exceed eighty thousand. In wealth and comfort there was the same disproportion between the French and English colonies. The foreign trade of the thirteen colonies in 1753—that is to say, of the imports and exports—was estimated at over three million pounds sterling, while the commerce of Canada could not have exceeded half a million of pounds. The combined forces of Canadian militia and regular troops were always much inferior in number to the British and colonial armies when united for the invasion of Canada, with the support of a powerful fleet; but the great strength of the French colony lay in the natural barriers between the English colonies and the keys to New France, Quebec and Montreal, and in the skill with which the approaches by way of Lake Champlain had been defended by forts at every important point. If the French force was insignifi-

¹ For an interesting statement of the French posts in America at the time of the final struggle for the supremacy on the continent, see Hinsdale, "The Old Northwest," i. 64.

² See Map No. 1 of Northern New France, showing the position of the French posts and forts from Louisbourg to the Mississippi and the Ohio, with the dates of their foundation. I am indebted for the main outlines to the map given in Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," vol. i. Hinsdale has also a map (vol. i, frontispiece) giving dates of forts, but they are not quite accurate. For instance, the date of Montreal is given at 1611, whereas M. de Maisonneuve founded Ville Marie in 1642. (See Faillon, "Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada," i. 439 *et seq.*) No doubt Mr. Hinsdale has been misled by the fact that Champlain in 1611 commenced a clearing on the island of Montreal at a point called La Place Royale, but nothing came of his scheme of making an establishment there. It was on the same spot that Maisonneuve erected the first fort for the protection and shelter of his little colony. (Faillon, i. 124-132.) But that does not give Champlain any valid claim to be the founder of Ville Marie.



To illustrate Dr. J. G. Bourinot's Paper on Cape Breton.



cant in number, they were as a rule skilfully managed, and in the early part of the struggle the English had no commander to compare with Montcalm for military genius. If there had been even a quarter million of people in Canada the contest could never have ended so suddenly on the heights of Quebec. In some respects the French Canadians were more manageable in war than the English colonists. They had none of that independence of feeling and disposition to rebel against military discipline that was often shown by the English colonists, especially of New England, when they accompanied the regular forces on a campaign. The French Canadians were always ready to obey the orders of their military governors and chiefs. No legislative bodies existed in Canada to interfere with and thwart the plans and orders of military commanders, but the whole Canadian people acted as a unit to be moved and directed at the will of the king's officers. The Indian tribes from Acadia to the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Illinois were, with the exception of the Five Nations, always friendly to the French since the days of Champlain—the warm allies of a people who fraternized naturally with them, and it would have been an unhappy day for the English colonists had eighty or a hundred thousand Canadians been able to arm and, under the skilful generalship of Montcalm, swoop down with their savage allies on the English colonial settlements. But the French of Canada were never able, as a rule, to do more than harass, by sudden raids and skirmishes, the English of America, and at no time in colonial history was the capture of Boston or of New York by a land force from Canada among the possibilities. The great current of active thought and enterprise which develops a nation was always with the English colonies, and though large schemes of ambition stimulated the energies of the bold and adventurous men to whom the destinies of France were entrusted from the days of La Salle to those of Montcalm, their ability to found a new empire in America under the lilies of France was ever hindered by the slow development of the French settlements, by the incapacity of the king and his ministers in France to grasp the importance of the situation on this continent, and by their refusal to carry out the projects of men like the astute La Galissonnière, who at once recognized the consequences of such neglect and indifference, but found no one ready to favour his scheme of establishing large settlements of French peasantry in Canada and Louisiana. France, we see now, had her great opportunity in America, and lost it forever at Quebec in 1759.

Before we proceed to the record of the second fall of Louisbourg—the first in a chain of events which led to the conquest of Canada—it is necessary that we should briefly review the history of the period which elapsed between the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and the commencement of the Seven Years' War. When English statesmen were informed of the mistake they had made in restoring Cape Breton to France with such reckless haste, they began to reflect on the best means of retrieving it as far as possible; and at the suggestion of Shirley and other colonists they set to work to bring an English population into Nova Scotia and to make it a source of strength instead of weakness to the New England communities. In 1749, the year of the formal surrender of Louisbourg, the city of Halifax was founded on the west side of the harbour, long known in Acadian history as Chebouctou—a harbour remarkable for its spaciousness and freedom from ice in winter. Here, under the directions of Governor Cornwallis, a town slowly grew up at the foot and on the slopes of the hill, which was in later times crowned by a noble citadel, above which has always floated the flag of Great Britain. Then followed the erection of a fort

at Chignecto, known as Fort Lawrence in honour of the English officer who built it—afterwards governor of Nova Scotia and one of the commanders at Louisbourg in 1758—and intended to be a protection to the province, constantly threatened by the French and Indians, who were always numerous at the French posts and settlements on the isthmus. The French constructed on the northern bank of the Missiquash a fort of five bastions known as Beauséjour, and a smaller one at Bay Verte, with the object, as previously stated, of keeping up communications with Louisbourg, which they were strengthening in some measure. At Fort Beauséjour the treacherous Le Loutre continued to pursue his insidious designs of creating dissatisfaction among the French Acadians and pressing on them the necessity of driving the English from the former possessions of France. In the spring of 1755 an English force of regular and colonial troops, chiefly the latter, under the command of Colonel Monckton, who has given his name to a prosperous city on the isthmus, and of Colonels Winslow and Scott, captured the two French forts, and took a good many prisoners, among whom were a considerable number of French Acadians, induced by the French to assist in the defence of Beauséjour. Le Loutre succeeded, during the confusion on the surrender of the fort, in evading capture, but only to find himself eventually taken prisoner by an English ship while on his way to France, and sent to the island of Jersey, where he was kept in confinement until the end of the war, and from that time disappears from colonial history.¹ During this same year General Braddock met with his terrible disaster in the forests west of the Alleghanies, and the Ohio valley was, for the time being, secured to the French. An expedition, led by Shirley against Fort Niagara, never reached its destination through various misadventures, and another force under Johnson and Lyman defeated Dieskau, but was unable to achieve the object for which it was formed, the reduction of Crown Point. But the most memorable event of the year, which has been the subject of warm controversy between French and English historians and the theme of one of the most affecting poems in the English language, was the expulsion of the Acadian French from Nova Scotia. When Halifax was founded it was decided, as a matter of necessity, to bring the Acadians more entirely under the control of the English authorities. They had probably increased since the treaty of Utrecht to at least ten thousand souls, living for the most part in the Annapolis valley, on the Gaspereaux and Avon rivers, at Grand Pré, at Mines, and at Chignecto. When they were asked to take the oath of allegiance by Governor Lawrence, they refused to do so unless it was qualified by the condition that they should not be obliged at any time to take up arms. It will be remembered that many years before a considerable number, if not the majority, of the same people had taken this qualified oath, although no one had legal authority to make such a condition with them.² The feeling of uneasiness that the presence of so

¹ Dr. Akins in one of his notes to his "Selections from Nova Scotia Public Documents" (p. 178) gives a resumé of the leading facts in the life of this inveterate foe of England, who made use of the Acadians most unscrupulously to carry out his insidious designs of driving the English from Acadia. Parkman in describing his character (Montcalm and Wolfe, i. 113, 114) says he "was a man of boundless egotism, a violent spirit of domination, an intense hatred of the English, and a fanaticism that stopped at nothing." He appears to have been a treacherous soldier in the guise of a priest. His ecclesiastical superiors rebuked him in vain—he cared little for their approval, and looked only to the support of the military chiefs like Galissonnière, who encouraged him in his schemes against England.

² "In a single instance—in 1729—Governor Philips secured from the French inhabitants of the Annapolis river an unconditional submission; but with this exception the French would never take the oath of allegiance without an express exemption from all liability to bear arms. It is certain, however, that this concession was

large a body of people, undoubtedly, and naturally, in sympathy with the French, had always created among the English colonists, was not only intensified by the obstinacy of the Acadians in this particular, but by the knowledge that a number of them had been actually captured at Fort Beauséjour with arms in their hands. The people of England were much prejudiced against them, and believed that they could never enjoy any security while the Acadians continued to maintain their attitude of nominal neutrality, but actually of secret hostility to England. They had always supplied Louisbourg with provisions and helped to build the French forts on the isthmus, and it was difficult for Lawrence and his officers to obtain any assistance from them in the same way. The war between the French and English had never really ceased in America, and it was well known that the hollow truce in Europe would be broken at any moment; and in the presence of the great danger that threatened the English colonies, they had some ground for fearing the presence of a large body of people who assumed the extraordinary and unjustifiable position of neutrals in a country which was England's by rights of conquest and treaty, and where they could and did enjoy an amount of political and religious liberty which no Protestant enjoyed in Catholic Europe. The English authorities refused to allow them time to remove to French territory under the natural fear that such a step would only directly strengthen the French in Canada. The position of this people in Acadia, it is well to remember, would have been very different from that afterwards occupied by the French Canadians during the war of independence. In the one case it was a war between England and their old mother France, and it would have been difficult for them to refuse to listen to emissaries, who would be certainly urging them to take up arms for the restoration of the old *régime*. Their neutrality, under all the circumstances of the case, would have been extremely trying; indeed, in this last supreme struggle their hearts would lead them to take a part. In the second case, France had disappeared to all intents and purposes from the new world, and the war was between England and her own children in America, and there was no possible hope of restoring the old days of French dominion, but, on the contrary, the people saw in the Quebec Act the evidence of a unanimous desire to treat them justly. But while there are some extenuating circumstances to mitigate the unfavourable verdict which history seems generally disposed to pass against the English authorities for this hasty expatriation of the Acadian French from their homes in their old Acadian land where they had been living since the days of De Poutrincourt and La Tour, one will always regret that the men who represented England in those days had not run a risk on the side of human clemency, rather than have driven thousands of men, women and children from their pleasant homes by the sides of the beautiful bays and rivers of Nova Scotia, and scattered them far and wide among the English colonies, where they were so many sad-hearted exiles and unwelcome strangers, to whom charity too often doled out a pittance with a reluctant hand.

In 1756 the war between France and England was publicly proclaimed. In Europe the four great powers of France, Spain, Russia and Austria combined to crush Frederick the Great, whose sole ally was England. The basis of the present German Empire was laid on the field of Rossbach where the great representative of Protestantism defeated and

never made by anyone in authority; and in the two instances in which it was apparently granted by subordinate officers, their action was repudiated by their superiors." "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," art. on "The Struggle in Acadia and Cape Breton," v. 409.

almost annihilated the French army by an effort of the most remarkable military genius that the world has ever witnessed, but it is not in the old world, with its conflict of dynasties and national ambitions, that the war resulted in consequences of the most moment to mankind. If Frederick prepared the way for the unity of Germany by his successes, we must at the same time place among the results of the Seven Years' War the conquest of that wondrous eastern empire which, from the earliest times, has attracted the admiration of nations. India with its great shrines of faiths, which were old when christianity came to purify the world by its humanizing influences, with its glittering stores of diamonds and its barbaric ornaments of gold and silver to excite the rapacity of conquering armies, with its palaces and monuments of curious architectural skill—India was won at Plassy by the genius of Clive; and now from Ceylon to the Himalayas an English viceroy represents English order and law in his white marble palace on the banks of the Hughli. One hundred and thirty years after the victory of Plassy there was living in this eastern palace a viceroy¹ who had come there direct from the old French province in America,—from that Canadian country which, under the rule of England, has grown up to a vast dominion extending between two oceans since the days when it was won on the field of Abraham by Wolfe, whose name must always be associated with Quebec just as the memory of Clive must ever live in the great province of Bengal. India, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada are the heritage of the war which drove France from the eastern and western hemispheres.

Whilst Frederick was laying the foundations of an empire, which was a century later to hurl a French emperor from his throne and inflict a tremendous blow on the pride of France, the conflict between England and her great rival in America was chiefly remarkable for the incapacity of English commanders on land and sea. Earl Loudoun² the commander-in-chief, arranged a campaign against the French on Lake Champlain and against Louisbourg which ended only in disaster and humiliation for England. The forts at Oswego, the most important on the frontiers of the English colonies, and always regarded with great disfavour by the French who occupied Fort Frontenac on the opposite side of Lake Ontario, were successfully attacked and destroyed by Montcalm. The energetic French general then proceeded, a year later, to storm Fort William Henry and largely owing to the incapacity or pusillanimity of General Webb who could have marched to the assistance of the besieged from Fort Edward, the brave Scotch officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Monro, then in command of this important defence of the northeastern frontier, was obliged to surrender. After the capitulation of this fort a large number of helpless men, women and children were barbarously murdered by the body of Indians that accompanied the French—one of the saddest episodes in American history, which must always dim the lustre of Montcalm's victories, though it is now generally admitted that the French general himself was not responsible for the treachery of his Indian allies, but used his most earnest efforts—even at the risk of his own life—to save the English when the savages were mad with lust for the blood of their enemies.³

¹ This special reference here is to Lord Dufferin, who was a very popular governor-general of Canada from 1872 to 1878, but in addition to him two other distinguished governors-general have occupied the same exalted position—Lord Elgin thirty years ago, and the Marquess of Lansdowne since 1888.

² Of whom it was said "he is like St. George on the signs; always on horseback, but never rides on," Franklin's Autobiography (Sparks), vol. i. p. 219.

³ See Parkman's graphic account of this disgraceful affair, "Montcalm and Wolfe," i. 474-514. Capt. Jonathan Carver has a narrative of the massacre ("Travels through the Interior Parts of North America," ed. of 1779, pp. 295-308), to which he nearly fell a victim.

At sea the results were equally discouraging for the English. Fifteen ships of the line and three frigates, under the command of Admiral Holbourne, and twelve thousand troops under the command of Earl Loudoun himself, assembled in the harbour of Halifax in the July of 1757, but owing to the absence of energy and celerity of movement from the very day the project was decided upon in England, until after the arrival of the fleet in America, the French were able to get reinforcements of ships and men into Louisbourg, and the English admiral and general came to the resolve—so strange for Englishmen in time of war—to run no risk in attacking the fortress. Loudoun returned to New York but too late to retrieve the injury he had done to the northern colonies by withdrawing so large a force from the frontier at a critical period, when Montcalm was marching on Fort William Henry with such unfortunate results for the English interests. Holbourne sailed with his fleet for Louisbourg, and after an unsuccessful half-hearted attempt to draw the French fleet, then safely moored under the guns of the town, into an engagement even the elements combined against him, and when he had lost a number of his vessels on the rocky Cape Breton coast, he returned to England to tell the story of his discreditable failure.¹

Loudoun

It was time indeed that the genius of Pitt should be enlisted in the service of his countrymen. The qualities of a mere political trickster like the Duke of Newcastle were not those that could save England in this hour of her necessity, when her colonies in America were threatened by the intrepidity and skill of the men who were endeavouring to carry out the bold

designs of France with the limited resources that their country placed in their hands. Pitt possessed all the qualities necessary at this national crisis. His impassioned eloquence touched a sympathetic chord in the hearts of his countrymen. His self-confidence inspired hopefulness in all those with whom he conferred. His cool judgment and energy of character enabled him to carry out successfully the bold designs his fertile brain conceived. His popularity rested not on the favour of the aristocracy, but on the support of the great middle class of the people. It happened with England then, as it happens almost always in a great national emergency. The necessities of the times gave birth to a man capable of coping successfully with the difficulties of the situation. It was Pitt's good fortune to control the destinies of England at a time when she was entering on the most remarkable epoch of her history; an epoch which was to be famous for victories in Asia and America, would place her in the foremost rank of nations, and make her the centre of a vast colonial empire such as the world never saw, even in the days when Rome was mistress.²

When Pitt was recalled to office in July 1757, it was too late to prevent the humiliation of England through the incompetency of Holbourne, Loudoun and Webb, and the

¹ See App. X, (last paragraph,) to this work for reference to authorities on this unfortunate expedition.

² "When the disasters of the war drove Newcastle from office, in Nov., 1756, Pitt became secretary of state, bringing with him into office his relatives, George Grenville and Lord Temple, as well as Charles Townshend * * The House was full of Newcastle's creatures, the King hated him, and only four months after taking office he was forced to resign. The Duke of Cumberland insisted on his dismissal in April, 1757, before he would start to take the command in Germany. In July, however, it was necessary to recall him. The failure of Newcastle's attempt to construct an administration forced the duke to a junction with his rival, and while Newcastle took the head of the treasury, Pitt again became secretary of state." Green, "Hist. of the English people," iv. 177. The same historian has an excellent review of Pitt's character and ability, pp. 177-183.

year 1757 closed with Montcalm triumphant in America. But while France, governed by an impure woman, neglected to give adequate support to her brave sons in Canada, England rallied to the support of Pitt and the whole nation felt a confidence in the future which it had not felt for many years under the administration of his predecessors. On the continent of Europe Pitt contented himself with giving the largest possible subsidies of money to his great ally, Frederick, and by entrusting the command of the English and Hanoverian forces to the best of his generals, Ferdinand Prince of Brunswick, in place of the incompetent Duke of Cumberland. The victories of Rossbach, Leuthen and Minden were the answers that Frederick gave to the great English minister for the confidence he reposed in his ability to cope with the four great powers, then combined with Saxony to destroy Prussia and bring England to the feet of France, by invading her territory and marching into her very capital. Hanover was saved by the memorable victory on the Weser, and England was spared the humiliation and perils of an invasion by the destruction of a French fleet by Admiral Hawke in Quiberon Bay.

VII. SIEGE AND TAKING OF LOUISBOURG IN 1758 BY AMHERST AND BOSCAWEN.

While the military genius of Frederick and the inspiring statesmanship of Pitt were successfully thwarting the ambitious plans of France and her allies in Europe, the English minister had decided on a vigorous campaign in America.¹ With that intuitive sagacity which he possessed above most men for recognising ability in others for the purpose in view, he chose General Amherst, Admiral Boscawen and Brigadier-General Wolfe as possessing those qualities, the want of which in Loudoun and Holbourne had brought disaster upon the English arms. Unhappily he was forced, for the time being, by strong influences around him to retain General Abercromby at the head of one of the expeditions in America, but he hoped with others that the advice and co-operation of Lord Howe

J. Amherst

E. Boscawen

James Abercromby

would keep up the courage of the army, and prevent any blunders on the part of the slow and obtuse soldier in command. The plan of the campaign which opened in 1758 was to send three expeditions simultaneously against the three all important French positions held by the French in the Ohio Valley, on Lake Champlain and at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. General Forbes, a resolute Scotch veteran, was to march on Fort Duquesne, General Abercrombie was to lay siege to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and General Amherst with Admiral Boscawen was to attack the fortress of Louisbourg, which was acknowledged as the key of the St. Lawrence. That formidable fortress once reduced, the French would have no place of rendezvous at the mouth of the gulf, and the English

¹ "He [Pitt] felt that the stake he was playing for was something vaster than Britain's standing among the powers of Europe. Even while he attacked Frederick in Germany, his eye was not on the Weser but on the Hudson and St. Lawrence." Green, "Hist. of the English People," iv. 195. See Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," i. 39, 40; ii. 380.

fleet and army could proceed with greater security to the siege of the capital of Canada, on whose rocky heights the French believed themselves almost impregnable.

Whilst Louisbourg had been in the possession of the English until the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, they had repaired the breaches in the walls besides erecting a large wooden barracks in the Queen's bastion, but it does not appear that they strengthened the fortifications in any essential respects. When the French regained possession of the town, the engineer Franquet was sent out by the government of France for the purpose of making it more capable to resist the attack which they knew must be made upon it some time or another. An additional battery of twenty guns was erected at Point Rochefort, and another at the lighthouse to command the shipping and assist the island battery in protecting the entrance to the harbour. Both of these defences had been contemplated in the original plan of the works, but they were not constructed when Louisbourg was first besieged by the New England troops. The original plan also contemplated a battery of fifteen guns near the entrance, to the southwest of the careening cove, but it does not appear to have been built before the second siege. Between the Maurepas and Princess bastions there was constructed a curtain of masonry and another between the Princess and the Queen's bastion, as those were relatively weak portions of the defences. It may be that Franquet was not well qualified to perform the task assigned to him, but at all events there is some probability in the accusation which French writers have made that there was great neglect on the part of the officers in charge of the works, as well as speculation practiced by the officials generally.¹ On the whole, we may come to the conclusion that while there were doubtless defects in the fortifications, from the causes just stated, it is quite certain that they were in a much better condition to stand a prolonged siege than in 1745. The fortifications were well defended by cannon and mortars, and there was a large fleet in the port and a considerable force of regular soldiers and militia in the town, although, as the issue proved, the whole strength of Louisbourg was quite unequal to keep up a defence for any length of time against the military skill which led the English army and fleet. Had France been able to cope with England on the sea, Louisbourg might never have fallen and Canada have been saved to France, or, at all events, it would not have passed so easily into the possession of England. The fleets that were intended for the relief of Canada were intercepted and defeated by the naval skill and indomitable courage of the English sailors. The incompetency and pusillanimity shown by Holbourne, when it was contemplated to attack Louisbourg in 1757, were very rare in English naval annals. Indeed, Admiral Byng was sacrificed to the public opinion of the day that if English sailors were beaten there must be gross negligence or cowardice, only to be wiped out by disgrace and death. In 1757, Admiral Osborn prevented a French fleet from passing through the Straits of Gibraltar on its way to America, while Admiral Hawke forced another, just sailing to Louisbourg, to find protection under the guns of the fort of Aix and in the shallow waters of the Charente. Had these naval expeditions reached Canada, Quebec and Louisbourg might have long resisted the attacks of the English naval and military forces, but happily for Boscawen and Amherst, only a few ships had arrived at Louisbourg before the English fleet anchored in Gabarus Bay at daybreak on the 2nd of June.

¹ See the very unfavourable estimate of Franquet and the officials generally in a memoir attributed to a Scotch soldier of fortune, Chevalier Johnstone—App. IX to this work.

When this event happened, there were in the harbour fourteen French men of war; two carrying 74 guns each, four 64, one 50, three 36, one 32, one 30, and two 16, or an aggregate of five hundred and sixty-two guns. Nearly three thousand men composed the crew of these vessels, which, had they been managed with the same intrepidity and skill which the garrison of the town displayed, Amherst and Boscawen would have found the task before them much less easy of accomplishment. The governor and commandant, Chevalier Drucour, had under his orders a regular force of about three thousand four hundred men, besides officers, and seven hundred militia drawn from the inhabitants of the island, beside a considerable band of Indians whose exact number has not been ascertained, but probably exceeding three hundred in all.¹ In addition to these fighting forces, there was in the town a population of four thousand persons, men, women and children belonging to Louisbourg and adjacent harbours. Since 1749, when the island was given up to the French, the French population of the island had considerably increased, and there were altogether in 1758 from three to four thousand people living at Louisbourg, Port Toulouse, Spanish Harbour, St. Anne's, Mira, Ile Madame, Inganiche, and Labrador as the Bras d'Or was then called. Communication had been opened with Port Toulouse, the most populous and flourishing settlement outside of Louisbourg, at a very great expense, by the Count de Raymond, when governor of Cape Breton, but all the writers who refer to this subject unite to condemn it as a useless expenditure, calculated to give facilities to an enemy to attack Louisbourg by land and obtain possession of the heights which command the town. The town was well supplied with provisions and military stores, as the English found after the capitulation. The walls were defended by two hundred and eighteen cannon and seventeen mortars, and there were forty-four large cannon in reserve for a time of need.

The English naval and military forces that made their appearance off the Bay of Gabarus on that June day were the most formidable in ships, men and armament that have ever appeared in the eastern waters of the Dominion. The naval force was composed of twenty-two ships of the line, sixteen frigates, a sloop or corvette, and two fire-ships, which carried in the aggregate eighteen hundred guns, and was under the orders of the Hon. Edward Boscawen, who hoisted his flag as admiral of the blue on the *Namur*, a noble ship of ninety guns. The second in authority was Sir Charles Hardy, vice-admiral of the white, whose pennant flew from the masthead of the *Royal William*, a ship of eighty guns. One hundred and twenty transports carried a train of artillery and some companies of colonial rangers and of carpenters—the latter under the Colonel Meserve

¹ The French forces, exclusive of inhabitants and Indians, were composed as follows:

	Men.
Twenty-four companies of infantry and two companies of artillery	1,200
The Second Battalion of the Regiment of Volontaires Etrangers	600
“ “ Artois	500
“ “ Bourgogne	450
“ “ Cambise	650
Total	3,400

Brown (“Hist. of Cape Breton”) and Parkman (“Montcalm and Wolfe”) differ as to the number—the former giving 3,400 and the latter 3,080. Murdoch (“Hist. of Nova Scotia”) agrees with Brown. The author of the account of the siege, generally attributed to Chevalier Johnstone, (see App. IX. to this work) places the strength of the regiments at 3,740 (“Quebec Doc.,” iii. 485.)

The expedition reached its destination full of enthusiasm and without any accident after leaving Halifax. Soldiers and sailors had complete confidence in their officers, among whom Wolfe already occupied a conspicuous position for his great courage, his remarkable resolution and energy, despite his feeble health, and his determination to win fresh laurels for his country on a continent where its armies had so far met with few successes. The issue proved that Pitt had made a wise choice when he took that young soldier as the hope of England in the conflict which was now to be fought out to the bitter end on the continent of America.

¹ The following is a list of the ships composing the English fleet:

The Dublin, 74, which brought Amherst to Louisbourg was sent back to Halifax, and the general went on board the *Namur*. In addition to the large ships, there were the frigates *Juno*, *Gramont*, *Nightingale*, *Hunter*, *Boreas*, *Hind*, *Trent*, *Port Mahon*, *Diana*, *Shannon*, *Kennington*, *Scarborough*, *Squirrel*, *Hawk*, *Beaver*, *Tyloe* (sloop-of-war) and *Halifax*; the *Etna* and *Lightning* fireships, and 118 transports, carrying the following land forces, according to Brown in his "History of Cape Breton," p. 295:

Also five companies of Rangers, a brigade of artillery and engineers and 200 carpenters, altogether exceeding 12,000 men, exclusive of officers and troops left for the defence of Halifax, consisting of the 43rd Regiment, under Colonel Kennedy, of 659 men, and detachments from the 1st, 29th, 35th, 45th, 47th, second battalion of 60th and 78th Regiments, and artillery, in all 1,600 men. Brown's account differs from Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," ii. 56, who puts the whole force of soldiers, including Provincial Rangers, at 11,000. Entinck, "Hist. of the Late War," iii. 221-222, gives the number at 11,936; Knox, in his "Journal," i. 127, at 11,112, besides officers, artillery and Rangers. Murdoch, "Hist. of Nova Scotia," ii. 337, follows Entinck, and adds 324 artillery, or 12,260 in all. Mante, "History of the War," is probably correct in the statement that only 9,900 were fit for duty.

Entinck, (iii. 227, n.) describes as follows an important part of the land forces: "Our light infantry, Highlanders and Rangers, the French termed the English savages, perhaps in contradistinction to their own native Indians, Canadians, etc., the true French savages. * * * Some were dressed in blue, some in green jackets and drawers, for the easier brushing through the woods, with ruffs of black bear-skins round their necks; the beard of their upper lips, some grown into whiskers, others not so, but all well smutted on that part, with little round hats like several of our seamen. * * *. The Rangers are a body of irregulars, who have a more cut-throat savage appearance, which carries in it something of natural savages; the appearance of the light infantry has in it more of artificial savages."

exposed bay which has witnessed two of the most memorable episodes in the history of British North America. A southeast wind invariably makes a landing almost impossible for days. In curious contrast with the good fortune that attended Pepperrell's expedition, the weather was in every respect unfavourable for nearly a week. The commanders were eagerly looking every day for an opportunity of obtaining a footing on the rocky coast which was defended at important points for five miles by batteries constructed of earth and trees, so arranged as to conceal a large force of some three thousand regulars, inhabitants and Indians, which Drucour had stationed on the appearance of the fleet to prevent a landing. At last, on the 8th, the weather became sufficiently favourable, and the three brigadier-generals in command of their respective divisions made all their arrangements for a landing.¹ In order to distract the attention of the French from Freshwater or Kennington Cove, where it was decided that Wolfe should make the real attack, the divisions under Lawrence and Whitmore proceeded at first as if they intended to try a landing at Flat Point and White Point. Freshwater Cove was defended by a large force of French commanded by Colonel St. Julien, and hidden behind intrenchments cunningly devised of spruce trees with their tops outwards so as to deceive an enemy at very close quarters, and the moment the English came within range of the guns they met a furious fire from the French. Wolfe faltered before the fierce cannonade and actually gave the signal to retreat, but by one of those remarkable incidents that sometimes change the whole current of events three of his officers in the boats, Lieutenants Hopkins and Browne, and Ensign Grant—whose names deserve to be always remembered—misunderstood the signal, advisedly it is thought, and took it as an order to advance quickly. Consequently they moved forward impetuously and succeeded in landing on some rocks which were so situated as to protect them for the moment from the fire of the batteries to their left. The little body of a hundred men, under the command of these three officers, succeeded in obtaining a foothold among the rocks, and here they were joined without loss of time by reinforcements under the orders of Wolfe who, like a skilful general, at once seized the advantage which had been accidentally won for him. A Major Scott was one of the first to obey the orders, and although he found himself in face of a force very much greater than his little band of ten that he rallied around him on the rocks he succeeded in maintaining his position until his comrades joined him and enabled him to drive off his assailants who were coming up in hot haste to crush him. From the moment the English made a stand among the rocks, Wolfe recognized the necessity of supporting the movement and the first success was won. The batteries were very soon taken and the French seen in full retreat on Louisbourg with a loss of seventy-four prisoners, including two captains and a considerable number of killed and wounded—probably less than one hundred—whilst the English loss was fifty killed and fifty-nine wounded, a small loss when we consider the risk they ran in attacking a large body of well-armed

¹ The first or right division was composed of detachments of the 1st, 17th, 47th, 48th, 58th and 60th Regiments, led by Brigadier-General Whitmore, Colonels Burton and Foster, and Majors Prevost and Darby.

The second or centre division consisted of detachments of the 15th, 22nd, 35th, 40th, 45th and 60th Regiments, under Brigadier-General Lawrence, Colonel Wilmot, Lieutenant-Colonel Handfield, Majors Hamilton and Hussey.

The third or left division was made up of the 78th Highlanders, five companies of Rangers, twelve companies of Grenadiers, and a corps of Light Infantry consisting of 550 of the best marksmen to be found in the different regiments, led by Brigadier-General Wolfe, Colonels Frazer, Fletcher and Murray, and Majors Scott, Murray and Farquharson. See Entinck, ii. 227, 228; Brown, 298.

men successfully concealed behind cleverly constructed earthworks. By the evening of June the 8th the troops were landed on the shore of Gabarus Bay, but it was not for several days later that the artillery and stores could be successfully taken ashore at Flat Point Cove in consequence of the bad weather and heavy surf.

The encampment of the army was made on a range of low rocky hills just beyond the reach of the artillery of the town. The lines commenced at Flat Point Cove and formed almost a quarter circle of about two miles. The headquarters were placed at the centre of the encampment which had the advantage of not only the vicinity of a stream of fresh water but was almost invisible from the fortifications on account of the lay of the land. As soon as the French found that the English had landed their forces, they destroyed the grand battery, spiked the guns in the lighthouse battery, and burned down the storehouses and other buildings around the harbour. General Wolfe immediately proceeded to the lighthouse point, and took possession of the battery where he mounted cannon for operations against Goat Island opposite. He established a base of operations at the little harbour of Lorembec in his rear and erected a battery close to the careening cove to harass and destroy the shipping in the port.

It took several weeks to land all the stores, to build block-houses and redoubts, dig trenches, and make the investment complete.¹ By a month's time, however, despite the furious fire kept up day after day by the besiegers, the investment was complete and the situation may be generally described as follows:—

At sea the fleet under the command of Admirals Boscawen and Hardy effectually blockaded the port.

At lighthouse point, and half a mile to the westward of the careening cove, there were two batteries armed with heavy cannon.

The lines of the encampment to the west of the town were protected by two block-houses on the left flank to prevent any attack on the rear.

Wolfe constructed another block-house on the Mira road, to secure communication between the camp and the northeast arm where there was stationed a small detachment of troops. Three redoubts were erected about nine hundred yards in front of the camp to protect it from any attacks in that direction.

The first parallel or intrenchment was constructed from the water's edge east of the barachois for a distance of five hundred yards and came within six hundred yards of the nearest salient of the King's bastion. To give easy and secure access to this work an epaulement or rampart was constructed of earth and sods mixed with gabions and fascines, its height being nine feet, its width sixty feet, and its length a quarter of a mile.

The second line of trenches was next constructed to the east of the barachois for a distance of six hundred yards, within four hundred yards of the walls.

The third line of entrenchments was pushed forward from the extremity of the second line towards the left in an oblique direction, and when completed came to within sixty yards of the glacis of the Dauphin bastion.

¹ I have not given a special plan of the operations of this siege, as it seems superfluous to give another map of the harbour and fortifications in addition to those appended to this work. By reference to the plan of the siege of 1745 the reader can easily follow the short account I have given of the operations of 1758. I do not attempt to do more than describe the salient features of this siege.

A fourth redoubt was built on a little acclivity called Green Hill in the vicinity of the extremity of the epaulement to the first parallel.

A fifth redoubt was built by Wolfe on the north side of the harbour at the head of the barachois on a little rising ground, and did very effective work against the Dauphin bastion.

A sixth redoubt and entrenchment were constructed from six to seven hundred yards of the Queen's and Princess's bastions to divert the attention of the besieged as far as possible from the Dauphin's and King's bastions, the chief points of attack.

The work of constructing the trenches in front of the foregoing bastions was greatly facilitated by the fact that Wolfe on the 16th day of July obtained possession of a rising ground, known as *hauteur de la potence* or Gallow's Hill, not far from the curtain between the west gate and the King's bastion. Here the English were able to entrench themselves scarcely three hundred yards from the Dauphin bastion, and approach eventually within two hundred yards of the ramparts.

At the very commencement of the operations roads were constructed from Flat Point Cove to the headquarters and to the redoubts on Green Hill, in the direction of the first parallel.

All these works took several weeks to construct amid all the difficulties arising from bad weather and the nature of the ground, which made the construction of roads and the hauling of the heavy guns and materials very laborious. Indeed the last trench was not really finished until the day before the town itself capitulated. In the mean time, however, the besieging force drew nearer every day, and the town was practically condemned before the construction of the last parallel, as it will be easily seen when we review the main features of the siege, which lasted in all forty-eight days from the landing on the shores of Gabarus Bay.

The cannon on Wolfe's batteries on the rocky hills at the entrance of the harbour, soon silenced the island battery and forced the French ships to draw closer under the guns of the fortifications. When the island battery was destroyed, Governor Drucour recognized the danger of the English ships coming up the harbour, and sank four ships across the entrance, with their masts fastened together by a strong chain. Subsequently, considering this protection insufficient, he ordered two other ships to be added to the number. By this time there were only four ships of the line and one frigate in the harbour.² Two ships, the *Bizarre* and the *Comète*, had succeeded in getting out of the port soon after the commencement of the siege, and another, the *Echo*, also escaped the guns of the lighthouse battery but only to fall into the hands of the blockading squadron. The *Aréthuse*, a frigate of thirty-six guns, commanded by a gallant officer named Vauquelain, was for some time anchored close to the barachois at the southwest end of the harbour, and greatly harassed the besiegers engaged in the trenches and other works. If the Marquis Desgouttes, who commanded the fleet, had shown the same courage and resolution which Vauquelain displayed, the English would have found their progress greatly retarded, but he notoriously exhibited either great pusillanimity or remarkable incapacity. At the very beginning he wished to make an effort to return to France, and when Mon-

¹ The "British Encyclopædia" (9th ed.) commits a blunder in saying that "the siege operations were brought to a successful issue after an investment of six months."

² For a list of the fleet in the port in the first week of June, and the fate of the vessels, see next page.

sieur Drucour refused to grant him permission to leave the fortress to its fate, he allowed the great proportion of the officers and crews of the ships to find shelter in the town, to the discontent of the garrison who found them of relatively little use in the defence. The commander of the *Aréthuse*, however, soon found his position near the barachois too hot as the redoubts and works of the English made progress, and after making some repairs to the vessel, he succeeded in evading the English fleet and reaching France, though he fell subsequently into the hands of the enemy whilst cruising in the Channel. Of the five ships that remained in the harbour, three were afterwards destroyed by fire which originated from a bomb which fell upon one of them from the English batteries. The two remaining vessels, the *Prudent* and the *Bienfaisant*, were captured during the night by six hundred sailors under the command of Captains Lefroy and Balfour, and despite the perfect rain of missiles from the French batteries the Englishmen destroyed the former as soon as it ran aground and carried the other successfully out of the harbour.¹ Then not a single man of war was left out of the fleet of fourteen vessels that had hoisted the French flag at the commencement of the siege.² It is rarely that one is called upon in the history of naval warfare to record a more signal destruction of a squadron which effected nothing for the defence and is only redeemed from the charge of cowardice or of remarkable feebleness by the bravery of Vauquelain, who proved that had he been in command, instead of incompetent Desgouttes, he would certainly have shown that there were enough brave men in the little fleet to vindicate the honour of the French flag and give substantial aid to the hard pressed garrison.

Day by day the lines grew closer to the falling town, the breaches in the fortifications became larger, great masses of wall began to tumble, and the cannon were dismounted and rendered useless. Several sorties were attempted, but only one against the sixth redoubt and entrenchment, constructed by Wolfe to the westward of Black Point, had any success. The French surprised a company of grenadiers that were stationed in these

¹ "The renowned Captain Cook, then serving as a petty officer on board of one of the British ships of war co-operated in this exploit, and wrote an account of it to a friend in England," Grahame's "United States," iv. 28. Cook subsequently distinguished himself at Quebec and in Newfoundland, of which he explored the interior, then entirely unknown to the world. See "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th ed., which, while giving a very accurate account of his great services as a navigator, does not notice his presence at Louisbourg in 1758.

² The following statement shows the names of the French men of war in Louisbourg, June 1, 1758, and their subsequent fate:

La Prudent, 74 guns, burned by English in the harbour.	Le Bizarre, 64 guns escaped.
L'Entreprenant, 74 " blown up by accidental explosion.	L'Apollon, 50 " sunk at entrance.
Le Capricieux, 64 " set on fire by foregoing accident.	La Diane, 36 " " "
Le Célèbre, 64 " set on fire by foregoing accident.	Le Fidèle, 36 " " "
Le Bienfaisant, 64 " captured by English in harbour.	La Chevre, 16 " " "
	La Biche, 16 " " "
	L'Aréthuse, 36 " escaped.
	L'Echo, 32 " captured while attempting to escape.
	Le Comète, 30 " escaped.

The foregoing statement is made up from the most authentic sources. It appears that six vessels were sunk at the entrance of the harbour by the governor's orders—five men of war as above, and another, either *La Ville de St. Malo* (a merchantman) or an English prize, to which allusion is made in the memoir attributed to Chevalier Johnstone (App. IV.). The same memoir gives the number of sunken ships at five, but Drucour and others place it at six altogether—four on the first occasion and two subsequently. Parkman ("Montcalm and Wolfe" ii. 54 n.) gives an imperfect list of the ships in the port, the *Diane* being omitted. Murdoch ("Hist. of N. S. ii. 337,") is also incorrect in some particulars.

works, and although it was much inferior in numbers, it kept back the assailants until they were drawn off by reinforcements from headquarters. In this affair there were considerable losses in killed and wounded on both sides, Lord Dundonald, who commanded the grenadiers, and three captains of the French force being among the number. The situation of the French in the town became more desperate every day, and there was no prospect of aid coming to them by land or sea. A French officer, M. de Boishébert, was during the greater part of the siege at Mira with a force of at least three thousand French and Indians, mostly from St. John's Island, but the English had warning of their approach on the night of the 11th of July, and a detachment under Major Sutherland easily beat off the advance party—not more than one hundred men, it is said,—and that was the last that was heard of M. de Boishébert and his companions. So furious was the fire of the besiegers' batteries that it destroyed the greater portion of the stone citadel, affording accommodation for the principal barracks, a chapel and the governor's quarters, the last being alone saved from the flames. Bombs and shells fell even into the hospital, so that the surgeons were obliged to stop constantly in the performance of their operations. The large wooden barracks in the Queen's bastion was burned, and even the casemates in the King's bastion, in which the women and children huddled together, became unsafe. When at last the fortifications were tumbling down in all directions on the west front, and great gaps were visible in the Dauphin's, Queen's and King's bastions and not more than a dozen cannon were reported as really serviceable, the French governor decided to capitulate. The crisis had come at last in the siege. The English admiral and general had determined on a general assault when M. Drucour came to this conclusion. At first he asked for the same honours of war that the French had granted to General Blakeney and his garrison at Port Mahon in 1756, but the general and admiral would not entertain the proposition. The governor was prepared to maintain the siege still longer, and sent a messenger to communicate his intention to the English. Then M. de Prévost, the intendant, on behalf of the citizens, strongly urged him to surrender, as it was clearly impossible to hold the town for any length of time, and the consequence of further resistance would be a useless waste of life. The messenger was recalled before he reached the English headquarters and authorized to take back an answer accepting the terms which Amherst and Boscawen had laid down in the first instance. These terms provided that the troops in Louisbourg and St. John's Island should be prisoners of war and be carried to England in British ships, that the artillery and stores of all kinds in the islands in question should be delivered up, and that the inhabitants of the colony who had not carried arms should be sent to France at the first opportunity. On the morning of the 27th of July the English took possession of the west gate, and the cross of St. George was hoisted on the ramparts of a fortress whose days of glory were ended, and which was destined very soon afterwards to disappear from the pages of history.¹

¹ Articles of capitulation between their Excellencies Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst and his Excellency the Chevalier Drucour, governor of the island of Cape Breton, of Louisbourg, the island of St. John and their appurtenances :

"I. The garrison of Louisbourg shall be prisoners of war, and shall be carried to England in the ships of his Britannic Majesty.

"II. All the artillery, ammunition, provisions, as well as the arms of any kind whatever, which are at present in the town of Louisbourg, the islands of Cape Breton and St. John's and their appurtenances, shall be delivered, without the least damage, to such commissioners as shall be appointed to receive them, for the use of his Britannic Majesty.

The English obtained possession of 221 cannon, 18 mortars, 7,500 muskets and a great quantity of stores and provisions; 5,937 officers and men, of whom 3,301 were soldiers and 2,606 sailors, became prisoners of war. In addition to the men under arms there were in the town a large number of inhabitants, merchants and fishermen with their families, and these persons were eventually sent to La Rochelle, in France, and Louisbourg forever bade farewell to the people who had been living for years under the flag of France and sharing her fortunes on the American continent.

England had won her first great success on this continent in the campaign commenced under the inspiration and genius of Pitt. The news was received in America and England with many rejoicings, and the eleven stands of colours that were won at this gateway of Canada were deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral amid the roar of cannon. Thanksgivings were offered to heaven from the Puritan pulpits of New England, loyal toasts were drunk round many a festive board in New York and Philadelphia, bells pealed from the towers and steeples, towns were illuminated from Maine to Virginia; and in the English posts



English medal struck on capture of Louisbourg.¹

of Acadia, in the camp of Lake George, where Abercromby was fretting under the humiliation of defeat, wherever the tidings came, Englishmen rejoiced and predicted a speedy end to French power in America.

When we recall this victory of the Seven Years' War let us not forget to do justice to the men who achieved it. Wolfe distinguished himself from the beginning to the end of the siege and was the soul and impulse of the enterprise.—

“Wolfe where'er he fought,
Put so much of his heart into his act,
That his example had a magnet's force,
And all were swift to follow whom all loved.”

“III. The governor shall give his orders that the troops which are in the island of St. John's and its appurtenances shall go on board such ships of war as the admiral shall send to receive them.

“IV. The gate called Port Dauphin shall be given to the troops of his Britannic Majesty to-morrow, at eight o'clock in the morning, and the garrison, including all that carried arms, drawn up at noon on the Esplanade, where they shall lay down their arms, colours, implements and ornaments of war. And the garrison shall go on board to be carried to England in a convenient time.

“V. The same care shall be taken of the sick and wounded that are in the hospitals as of those belonging to his Britannic Majesty.

“VI. The merchants and their clerks that have not carried arms shall be sent to France in such manner as the admiral shall think proper.”

Murdoch, “Hist. of Nova Scotia,” ii. 343-344, and Entinck, “Hist. of the Late War,” iii. 246-247, give the articles of capitulation in full.

¹ From the collection of Mr. McLachlan, Montreal. See App. XIII to this work, No. 8 medal on list.

Amherst and Boscawen conducted their expedition with skill and prudence, and the number of their men killed and wounded during the operations was exceedingly small—five hundred and twenty-one in all.¹ The French, on the other hand, lost according to the English accounts upwards of one thousand, although the Chevalier Drucour represents the number at only three hundred and thirty, but he does not include the crews of the ships. The French governor, it must be admitted, conducted the defence with great energy, and he was well supported, according to his own statement, by the garrison, who, despite the great dangers and discomforts to which they were subject during the operations, “did not display the least discontent.” The governor could not praise “too highly the exertions of the officers who had defended the town and had done their best to delay the surrender.” Frenchmen and Englishmen, all accounts of the siege tell us, emulated each other in paying the tribute of their admiration to Madame Drucour, wife of the governor, who, during the siege, even fired off cannon with her own hand to nerve the soldiery to fresh efforts, and who was able when the fight was over to obtain some favours for her countrymen in recognition of the respect entertained for her courage and patriotism by the English general and admiral.² If M. de Drucour was unable to prevent the town falling into the hands of the English, at all events he succeeded in protracting the siege so that it was impossible for the expedition to proceed up the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec with any prospect of victory that year; and indeed he states in his report of the siege that he had this object steadily in view while engaged in the defence of the fortress.

Comparing the facts of the siege of 1758 with those of 1745, it must be admitted that Pepperrell’s success was the more remarkable of the two. In the one case we see a famous admiral and experienced generals, skilled in the art of war on land and sea, at the head of a great force of soldiers and sailors, of an army of twelve thousand well trained soldiers,

¹ Killed, 21 officers, 150 privates; wounded, 30 officers, 320 privates. Wright’s “Life of Wolfe,” 455, *n*.

² One must regret that Dr. Kingsford, in his History of Canada, should have thought it necessary to devote a long foot note—a page almost—to throw doubt on the often quoted story of Madame Drucour’s courage and devotion during the siege. (See vol. iv. 142.) It is true, as he says, Pichon is the authority generally cited for the statement, but there is no reason to doubt its truth since he was certainly not disposed to pay many compliments to his countrymen, and had opportunities to hear stories of the siege from participants both on the English and French side that the Canadian historian certainly has not had. Canadian history records the story of Madame de La Tour (Hannay’s Acadia, 170–172), who defended the French fort on the St. John against her husband’s foe, D’Aulnay de Charnisay. An American writer, Mary Hartwell Catherwood, has recalled Madame de La Tour’s devotion to her husband’s cause and the treachery of his relentless enemy in a romance, true to history, and full of the light and colour of the past,—“The Lady of Fort St. John” (Boston, 1890). We find on record many other evidences of the devotion of the Canadian women of old to King and Country. Every Canadian remembers the story of the heroine of Verchères. (See “The Heroines of New France,” by J. M. LeMoine, in “Canadian Leaves,” or a series of papers read before the Canadian Club of New York; New York, 1887.) But Pichon is not the only French writer who refers to this interesting episode. The Abbé Raynal, who wrote his “Philosophical and Political History” at a time when he probably heard the story from a French witness of the siege, refers to the incident. “Madame Drucour,” he says, “was constantly on the ramparts, *with her purse in her hand*, and, firing herself three guns every day, seemed to dispute with the governor, her husband, the glory of his office” The words in italics (ignored by Dr. Kingsford) are not in Pichon’s relation, and go to show that Raynal had probably other authority for his statement. Wright in his “Life of Wolfe,” p. 444, quotes from “Anecdotes Americaines,” Paris, 1776. Under all these circumstances why doubt Madame Drucour’s heroism when no statement to the contrary can be found anywhere? That Wolfe did not mention the story in his letters is no evidence in favour of Dr. Kingsford’s contention. Wolfe’s letters are hastily written and show irritability of temper. It is a pity that the Canadian historian was not more chivalrous in view of the fact that he has no evidence on his side when he assumes the rôle of a doubting Thomas. Parkman (“Montcalm and Wolfe”) relates the incident and bears testimony to the courtesy with which the English commanders treated the brave woman.

and of a fleet of at least fifty war vessels, the noblest that ever appeared in American waters ; with officers thoroughly trained in the use of artillery, and with a great store of all the machinery and munitions of war necessary to the reduction of a fortified town. In the other case, we see a relatively insignificant body of men, a little over four thousand all told, without regular military training, unskilled in siege operations, poorly provided with cannon, tents and stores, perfectly ignorant of the use of heavy artillery, and led by men taken from the counting house and farm. These colonial troops were supported by a few small vessels of their own, and an English squadron which consisted of only four vessels at the commencement and did not exceed nine vessels, including the captured *Vigilante*, at the close of the siege. It is true that in 1745 the walls were not in as good condition to undergo a protracted siege, and the French garrison was chiefly composed of colonial militia. Duchambon had no fleet to assist him, but it must be admitted that with the exception of the *Aréthuse* the vessels in the harbour in 1758 were of no material aid to Drucour. Still despite the great odds in favour of the second expedition the siege lasted for as many days as that conducted by Colonel Pepperrell. M. Drucour was a more efficient commander than Duchambon and had the assistance of a fine body of officers and regular troops, and was able to prolong the siege much longer than the other could possibly have done under the circumstances. The weather, too, was favourable for the success of the colonial expedition, but curious enough during the progress of the second siege it was remarkable for rain, fog, and wind. However, despite the good fortune that attended the efforts of the colonists in this and other respects, their success deserves mention among the most remarkable enterprises of the war. If we compare the operations during the two sieges, it will be seen that Amherst and Wolfe closely followed, whenever possible, the same plan of attack that was adopted so successfully in 1745. The siege of 1758 was conducted with that scientific skill and precision which were necessarily wanting in 1745, but the scheme of attack against the King's and Dauphin's bastions was on the same basis as that of the first siege and led to similar results. It is on record that Wolfe's operations at Lighthouse Point and at Lorembec were in accord with the suggestions made in 1757 to the British government by one of the officers who took a prominent part in Pepperrell's expedition.¹

The capture of Louisbourg was but the prelude to a series of events which gave Canada to England, and Louisiana for some years to Spain, and laid the foundations of the United States of America and of the Dominion of Canada. These events are inscribed in letters of gold on the pages which relate the triumphs of the administration of Pitt. Abercromby was beaten at Ticonderoga, and Lord Howe, described by a great statesman as "a character of ancient times and a complete model of military virtue,"² met an untimely, though a soldier's, death at Lake George. On the other hand, Forbes drove the French from the valley of the Ohio, and Bradstreet, whose services are mentioned in a previous page, won Frontenac and gave to the English the control of Lake Ontario. After the conquest of Cape Breton the English took possession of St. John's Island, and the greater part of its inhabitants were sent to France. Wolfe destroyed the French settlements on the bays of Gaspé, Miramichi and Chaleurs, and when he had completed

¹ Samuel Waldo to the Rt. Hon. W. Pitt. See Can. Archives for 1886 p. clii. For references to the authorities on the operations of 1758, see App. IX and X to this work.

² H. Grenville, "Correspondence," i. 262.

this unpleasant duty he could not refrain from writing to Amherst that they had "done a great deal of mischief, to spread the terror of his Majesty's arms through the gulf, but have added nothing to the reputation of them." Colonel Monckton destroyed the posts and scattered the French in the valley of the St. John river. Amherst himself hurried to Lake Champlain, on hearing the news of the disaster at Ticonderoga, and assumed the command which had been so unfortunately entrusted to Abercromby. In the following year he forced Montcalm to retire to Quebec, and here the latter met his death on the same battlefield where "died Wolfe victorious." It is a memorable fact in the history of Louisbourg, which may well be noted here, that within a year after the capture of the fortress another noble fleet and army assembled in the port and made preparations for the conquest of Canada. A fleet of twenty-two ships of the line and many frigates, under the orders of Admiral Saunders, and an army of nine thousand men, gave life once more to the harbour, which was still full of floating ice from the vast fields that had been passing down the gulf for weeks previously and barring the entrance to the eastern ports of the island. When the colonial contingents had arrived and all the necessary arrangements were completed, the last great fleet that has ever entered the harbour, once so famous in history, sailed for the St. Lawrence with much enthusiasm and a stern determination in every heart to plant "British colours on every French fort, post and garrison in America."¹ Quebec fell, and the English by their ever famous victory gave a new colonial empire to England. Levis, after the death of Montcalm, struggled to sustain the honour of his country, but his victory over Murray at St. Foy could not save Canada from her inevitable destiny, and in 1760 Montreal was surrendered to the English and Canada was lost to France for ever. A remnant of Acadian French that still lingered by the bays and rivers of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and by the St. John, caused some apprehension to the government of Nova Scotia after the fall of Louisbourg and the destruction of their settlements by Wolfe and Monckton, and it was found necessary to remove as many as possible to the vicinity of Halifax. Subsequently a number of these people were sent to Boston, but as the authorities of Massachusetts would not receive them, they were forced to return to Nova Scotia. Many of them went to the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon and engaged in the fisheries, but eventually they came back to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and, having consented to take the oath of allegiance to the English sovereign, settled down quietly in the country. So, after a century of uneasiness, and of misery towards the close, the old colonists of Acadie found a resting-place for themselves and families, and in these later times their descendants are a quiet, if not energetic, class, engaged in farming and fishing in the maritime provinces of Canada.

VIII. CESSION OF CAPE BRETON TO ENGLAND BY THE TREATY OF PARIS IN 1763 AND ITS HISTORY AS AN ENGLISH POSSESSION.

In 1763 the treaty of Paris² was signed and France ceded to England: "Canada with all its dependencies as well as the island of Cape Breton and all other islands and coasts in the Gulf and River Saint Lawrence and in general everything that depends on the said countries, islands and coasts with the sovereignty, property and possession, and all rights

¹ Knox, "Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America (1757-1760)," i. 279.

² For text of this treaty so far as it affects Cape Breton see App. XVI to this work.

acquired by treaty or otherwise which the most christian king and the crown of France have had till now over the said countries." From that day to this Cape Breton has remained in the possession of England, and for many years after the remarkable event of 1758 the island was a forgotten spot in that vast colonial empire, which was won by Clive, Wolfe and Amherst in Asia and America. A few months after the capture of Louisbourg the British government gave orders to raze the fortifications with all the works and defences of the harbour so that none of the materials could be used for the same purpose at any future time. It was also ordered that the houses of the town should not be destroyed except so far as might be necessary for the full and complete execution of the orders for "totally destroying all and every the fortifications thereof," but "in the demolition of all the works" an eye was to be "particularly given to render as far as possible the port and harbour as incommodious and as near impracticable as may be." These orders were carried out during the summer of 1760 under the directions of General Whitmore who was then in command of Louisbourg, and with the assistance of a company of engineers who were sent for that purpose to Cape Breton.¹ In a few weeks the work of many years was destroyed and the fortifications were levelled to the ground. All the artillery, munitions of war, and stores of various sorts were taken to Halifax, and considerable quantities of fine tufa and Portland stone which formed the foundations and ornamental parts of the best buildings were carried to the same place where they were used in the new town which was slowly growing up on the slope of the hill overlooking the spacious harbour. The citadel, the stone building partly destroyed during the siege, was temporarily repaired for the accommodation of a few troops still kept at Louisbourg until further orders from the imperial government. With the destruction of this once famous town and the cession of Cape Breton to England, Louisbourg eventually passed away from the memory of the world, and half a century later an English minister of state during the war of 1812 actually ordered "all American prisoners to be removed to Louisbourg as a place of safety."²

The history of Cape Breton since 1763, when it was formally ceded to England, can be very briefly summed up. By a proclamation dated the 7th of October, 1763, King George the Third annexed this island and St. John's "with the lesser islands adjacent thereto to our government of Nova Scotia." The island was constituted one electoral division with the privilege of sending representatives to the assembly of the province. For years, however, no such representation was given to Cape Breton in consequence of there being no freeholders in the country entitled under the provincial law to elect mem-

¹ See Akins, "N. S. Archives," 476-478-486. Dr. Kingsford in his "History of Canada," (iv. 141, n.) tells us that "it was not until the 1st of June, 1760, that the uninterrupted destruction of the works was commenced under Captain Muckett, of the company of miners, assisted by working parties from the infantry, of strength varying according to the work, from 160 to 220 daily. The miners and artificers numbered a little over 100. The whole work was completed on the 10th of November, 1760, there having been only two days' intermission besides Sundays, one being the king's birthday and the other midsummer's day. The reason for keeping this latter day is thus mentioned in a M. S. diary of the mining operations at Louisbourg, now in the Royal Artillery office, which belonged to Sir John Seymour. According to tradition among the miners, Midsummer was the first that found out the copper mines in Cornwall, for which occasion they esteem this a holy day, and all the miners come from below ground to carouse and drink to the good old man's memory." See "Hist. of the Royal Regiment of Artillery" by Major Francis Duncan. R. A., pp. 203-204.

² See Haliburton, "Hist. of Nova Scotia," i. 293. This incident recalls the story told of the Duke of Newcastle,—"Good gracious you don't say so, Cape Breton is an island, I must run and tell the king." See Wright, "Life of Wolfe," 487.

bers. In 1765 the population of the whole island does not appear to have exceeded one thousand persons, chiefly of French extraction, living at Ile Madame, at St. Peter's, on the Bras d'Or Lake, and on the harbours and bays between Louisbourg and St. Peter's. The English garrison in the old town consisted of three hundred regular troops. At that time the town comprised one hundred and fifty buildings, of which sixteen were of stone and only twenty-five inhabited; but nearly all of them were in a ruinous state. The population of Cape Breton appears to have made no progress during the closing years of the last century, for in 1774 there were only ten hundred and eleven persons on the island, exclusive of the Micmacs about two hundred and thirty in all.¹ The English government commenced at an early date to make surveys of the lands, but as they did not, for many years, give grants, there was no encouragement whatever for settlement on the island, although its valuable resources were becoming gradually known through the reports of the soldiers and officers who were stationed there from time to time. A number of French Acadians returned from St. Pierre and Miquelon where they had gone in 1761, and a few loyalists came to Cape Breton during the war of independence and settled at Louisbourg, Cow Bay, Bedeque and on the Margu rite River. In 1783, when Lord Sydney—the Honourable Thomas Townsend—administered the affairs for the colonies, New Brunswick, St. John's and Cape Breton were formally separated from the government of Nova Scotia, and made distinct provinces. A lieutenant-governor was appointed for Cape Breton and inasmuch as its "situation and circumstances" did not "admit the calling of an assembly," he could "until it appears proper to call such assembly in the meantime make such rules and regulations, by the advice of our council, for the said island as shall appear to be necessary for the peace, order and good government thereof"; but nothing could be passed or done "to affect the life, limb or the property of the subject, or to the imposing of any duties or taxes," and all rules and ordinances had to be transmitted at the first opportunity for the approval or disapproval of the king in council. The lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia remained governor in chief over the new colonial governments, and had the right to hear appeals from any courts that might be established within his jurisdiction.² The first result of this new system was the foundation of the present capital of the island on the beautiful and spacious estuary, previously known as Spanish River or Harbour, and which was given the name of Sydney in honour of the statesman under whose auspices Cape Breton was separated from Nova Scotia. From that time until this Louisbourg has remained a hamlet of fishermen,—the safe refuge of cruisers in storms, and an object of curiosity to the few tourists who have found their way to that remote coast, once so famous in historic annals.

The political history of Cape Breton, as a distinct government, is not in any sense interesting or instructive. The first governor was Major Frederick Wallis DesBarres, an English officer who had served with distinction at the second siege of Louisbourg and was in attendance on Wolfe during the memorable engagement on the field of Abraham.³

¹ Murdoch, "Hist. of Nova Scotia," ii. 529.

² See App. XVI (D.) at the end of this work for substance of royal instructions respecting Cape Breton as a separate government.

³ Some American accounts of DesBarres' life state that he was aide-de-camp to General Wolfe at the siege of Quebec, and "that officer received his mortal wound while DesBarres was making a report to him and fell, dying, in the arms of his aide." (See "Appletons' Cyclop dia," also their "Dictionary of American Biography.") Captain Knox, a most trustworthy narrator, says in his "Historical Journal of the Campaign," (London, 1769.)

Subsequently he had been employed in surveying the coasts of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, and was, so far as acquaintance with the island went, well qualified to be the first to administer its local affairs. Immediately after receiving his commission Lieutenant-Governor DesBarres proceeded to the island, and among his first official acts was the formation of a council.¹ A great seal was sent him to affix to all acts of state. Courts of justice were duly established, by ordinance of the 22nd of February, 1785, and the laws of England relating to the administration of justice declared to be in force in Cape Breton.² The appointment of DesBarres, however, was not in the end advantageous to the island and its public service in many respects. He was jealous of the superior authority of the governor of Nova Scotia, and also quarrelled with the military commandant at Sydney. His conduct was disapproved by the authorities in England and his drafts on the treasury for the payment of provisions which he had been obliged to purchase for the relief of the inhabitants at a critical time when the little colony was threatened with starvation were not even honoured, and he was obliged eventually to return to England where he remained for years endeavouring to obtain payment for his losses; but failing at last to receive that consideration to which he seems to have been, on the whole, fairly entitled, he returned

that many officers claimed the honour of being Wolfe's supporters after he was wounded, but he states on incontestable authority that Lieutenant Brown of the Grenadiers of Louisbourg, whom Wolfe was leading at the time he was fatally struck, Mr. Henderson, a volunteer in the same company and a private man "were the three persons who carried his excellency to the rear, which an artillery officer seeing, immediately flew to his assistance, and those were all that attended him in his dying moments. I do not recollect the artillery officer's name or it should be recorded here." Both Wright ("Life of Wolfe," 586, 587, *n.*) and Parkman ("Montcalm and Wolfe," ii. 296, 297, *n.*) consider Knox's report by far the best attested. Warburton, in the "Conquest of Canada," (ii. 349) states that Colonel Williamson of the Royal Artillery was the officer who went to Wolfe's aid. DesBarres himself, in an account of his services given in a work of his own (see App. XV), makes the following statement: "He (DesBarres) received the king's particular commands (signified by the late Earl of Chatham) to attend General Wolfe as an engineer on his expedition against Quebec. . . . In the field of battle on the 13th of September he was making his report to the general on orders he had just executed, when the regretted hero received his mortal wound." This statement would certainly show he was acting at the time, under special instructions from Wolfe. But it is remarkable his name does not occur in any account of this memorable scene. Bouchette, in his "British Dominions in North America," (i. 265, *n.*) makes a similar claim for Major Holland, a friend and relative of his own, well known as surveyor-general of Canada, who was "at the taking of Louisbourg, and subsequently at the reduction of Quebec in 1759, and stood near General Wolfe when that great hero fell on the Plains of Abraham." The gallant general, adds Bouchette, "as a testimony of his regard, presented Major, then Captain Holland, with his pistols and left him the greater part of his plate." These circumstances certainly did not happen on the battle field. As a matter of fact, Wolfe had willed his plate to Admiral Saunders (Wright, "Life of Wolfe," p. 574), and the presentation of the pistols is not mentioned by a single historian, nor does Holland's name appear in connection with the last scenes in the hero's life. Bouchette's assertion is probably mere hearsay and romance. Wright says with truth that "various persons, either from the vanity of talking or the more pardonable desire of being associated with Wolfe, have asserted that they carried him from the field or were present at his death." Appleton's "Cycl. of Am. Biog." repeats Bouchette's story of Holland being near Wolfe and adds he was mentioned in the will. He was the same Samuel Holland who made surveys of the coast of Cape Breton Island, published by DesBarres himself in 1781. (See "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am," v. 440, *n.*) Both Holland and DesBarres could not have been present at the closing scene. It looks as if Major Holland was mistaken for DesBarres by the writer in the "Am. Biog." It is certain that the mention of Holland in Wolfe's will is an entire delusion, and so is probably the rest of Bouchette's statement.

¹ For further particulars of the life of this remarkable man, see App. XV.

² In 1805, the island was divided into districts of separate jurisdiction, by an ordinance of the 3rd of June, which recited that the laws of England had been extended to that island by his Majesty, and provided that all subsequent acts of parliament relating to the administration of justice in the courts of king's bench and quarter sessions in England would extend to Cape Breton, so far as the same were in their nature applicable.

to Halifax where he died at the remarkable age of 103 years.¹ Of his successors in the government of the country until 1820 there is nothing of interest to say. Their administration of affairs was simply noted for squabbles of the most contemptible character with the members of their councils, some of whom seem certainly to have been remarkable for irritability of temper, probably fostered by the inconveniences and discomforts of life in a little village so far from the great haunts of men. Many of them no doubt,—

“ Mistook the rustic murmur of their burgh
For the great wave that circles round the world;”

and in the spirit of a little bureaucracy believed themselves so many magnates. Governor, judge, secretary, attorney-general, and officials generally could not permit anything to come between the wind and their dignity. Even so accurate an historian of the island as Mr. Richard Brown, who lived the greater part of his life at North Sydney, engaged in the development and study of its mineral resources, dwells reluctantly on this period of its annals, and is obliged to admit, while referring to Lieutenant-Governor Ainslie,² that “like all his predecessors his reign was, from first to last, disgraced by continual quarrels and disputes, alike dishonourable to all the parties concerned.” Finally a question arose as to the means of carrying on the government of the island. Amongst other laws, or as they are strictly termed, ordinances, passed by the lieutenant-governor and council, was one in the year 1801, for levying a tax of one shilling a gallon upon all spirituous liquors imported into the island during two years. This ordinance was afterwards questioned

¹ The following are the names of the first Councillors who were sworn in to assist and advise the lieutenant-governor: Richard Gibbons, chief justice, president; David Mathews, attorney-general; William Smith, military surgeon; Thomas Moncrieffe, fort adjutant; J. E. Boisseau, deputy commissary of musters; Rev. Benjamin Lovell, military chaplain; Thomas Uncle, William Brown and John Wilkinson; clerk of council and provincial secretary, David Cuyler. Subsequently on account of difficulties between DesBarres and the commandant of the garrison, Colonel Yorke, the fort adjutant and the chaplain resigned, and Alexander Haire and George Rogers were appointed in their place. The names of the other civil officers of the province, in addition to those just given in the list of councillors, were as follows: surveyor-general, Thomas Hurd; comptroller of customs, William Brown; naval officer, George Moore; postmaster, Thomas Uncle; Rev. Ranna Cossit was appointed in 1786 first rector of St. George's Church. He and all the officers of the civil government were paid out of an imperial grant made by parliament for that purpose. By an ordinance of the 14th of Feb. 1791, the whole island was constituted one parish, and the minister required to be of the Church of England, with some provision for liberty of dissent. (See Brown's Cape Breton for other information on this subject). The majority of the names here given have disappeared, but there are still in the island representatives of the Dodds, Cossits, Gibbons and Moores, who took part in the public affairs of the island when its government was first established. The Dodd family have given three judges in succession to the bench. Numerous descendants of the settlers that came into Cape Breton in its early days are found at Sydney, Louisbourg, St. Peter's, Ile Madame, Bedeque and other parts of the island. For instance, Lorway, Kavanagh, Townsend, Martell, Bagnall, Robertson, Tremain, Crawley, Ball, Ingraham, Hill, Plant, McKinnon, Clarke, Dumaresque, Brown, Weeks and Crowdy. But with the coming of the Scotch settlers, Macdonald, Ross, MacKinnon and other names of “that ilk” began to prevail from one end of the island to the other.

² The following is a list of the lieutenant-governors of Cape Breton while it had a government of its own:—Major Frederick Wallet DesBarres, 1784—1787; Lt.-Colonel Macarmick, 1787—1795; Attorney-General D. Mathews, president of council, administrator, May 27, 1795—June 29, 1798; Brigadier-General Ogilvie, president of council, administrator, June 29, 1798—June 21, 1799; Brigadier-General Murray, June 21, 1799—September 16, 1800; Major-General Despard, September 16, 1800—July 6, 1807; Brigadier-General Nepean, July 6, 1807—June 1, 1813; Brigadier-General Swayne, January 1, 1813—February 6, 1816; Lt.-Colonel Fitzherbert, February 5, 1816—November 4, 1816; Major-General Ainslie, November 4, 1816—June 22, 1820; Captain David Stewart, administrator, until 9th October, 1820, when Cape Breton was reunited to Nova Scotia.

as illegal on the ground that in consequence of the royal proclamation of 1763, and of the letters-patent and instructions¹ relating to the government of Cape Breton, no tax could be levied in the colony except by consent of its representatives convened in an assembly. On that ground, and after an exhibition of much public discontent, the payment of the tax was at length resisted, and an action brought in 1816 to recover it for the crown by the King's collector against Messrs. Leaver and Ritchie, then lessees of the coal mines. The cause came on for trial in the supreme court of the island in November, 1816, before Chief Justice Dodd, when a verdict was given for the defendant on the ground that the tax was illegal. To this verdict and the judgment given thereupon "the crown was advised to and did submit." This difficulty, involving important financial results, led to a radical change in the constitutional position of the island. Wearied with the squabbles of officials, finding that the island was making no progress under a government of its own, informed by the crown officers that there was no legal provision for raising a revenue in the island, and that some change was imperatively required in the general state of affairs, the English government took steps to reannex the island to the government of Nova Scotia and to declare it a distinct county of that province, "to be called and known by the name of the county of Cape Breton; and to be represented, and the civil government thereof to be administered, in like manner as the other counties of the province are administered and governed."² This action of the imperial government created much discontent among the officials of the island, and strong remonstrances against the union were sent to England, where they were supported by the famous agitator, David Hume, in the British parliament. The majority of the inhabitants of Cape Breton appear, however, to have been quite indifferent to the measure, and its unpopularity was mainly confined to the little capital. The constitutional point was raised by the petitioners that the island had never been formally annexed to the province of Nova Scotia after its cession by France as an integral part thereof, but that it had been for a short time placed under the government of the province, and had been subsequently given by letters-patent a distinct constitution, with a lieutenant-governor and council and the right to call an assembly when necessary, and that this constitution having been once solemnly granted by the crown could not be taken away, except by the consent of the people or by an act of the imperial parliament. The question having been referred to the judges of the privy council they decided that the inhabitants of Cape Breton were not by law "entitled to the constitution purported to be granted to them by the letters-patent of 1784, mentioned in the above petition."³

For many years the progress of the island was retarded by the supineness of the English government in giving titles to lands, none being granted even to actual settlers. Captain Holland's survey was completed in 1767, but still no move was made to open the large tracts of valuable land which were available for cultivation. Between 1770 and 1780, merchants from the island of Jersey began to establish fishing settlements on Ile Madame, Cheticamp and several places on the Gut of Canseau, some of which grew to considerable size. For some inexplicable reason, when free grants of land were offered to

¹ See App. XVI, (D,) to this work.

² See App. XVI, (E,) for proclamation reannexing Cape Breton to Nova Scotia.

³ See Brown, Hist. of C. B., 458, 459, and App. XVI, (D,) to this work, where a reference is given to the petitioners' case.

the loyalists who came to Nova Scotia at the close of the war of independence, the governor of that province was not allowed "upon any pretence whatever to make any grants in the island of Cape Breton or any other island comprehended within his government without express orders to that purpose."¹ With the establishment of a separate government in Cape Breton, however, there was a decided improvement in this particular, and grants were freely made to immigrants. A great current of population began to flow into Cape Breton from the islands and northern parts of Scotland where the great landlords wished to rid their estates of their peasantry and turn them into pasture lands for the raising of cattle and sheep, just as in these later times they have driven off the humble crofters from lands which they wish to make preserves for deer. This Highland migration settled the counties of Pictou and Antigonish, in Nova Scotia, and then began to find its way to Cape Breton, at first to the western coast. From the close of the last century, when this population first came into the country, until the reunion with Nova Scotia when it began to cease, at least twenty-five thousand persons are estimated to have settled on the public lands, waste for so many years. Cape Breton from that time was no longer a French but a Scotch colony, whose old homes must be sought in the Hebrides, on the rocky, windy shores of far away Lewis or Stornoway, or in some rude sheiling by the side of a lonely loch or stream amid the mountains of northern Scotland.

For the greater part of this century Cape Breton has had but a sluggish existence. The Scotch population in the early days of settlement led quiet uneventful lives on that remote island of eastern North America. If sometimes their thoughts went back to the islands and mountains of their native land, it was to remember their poverty and wretchedness and the greed of the great lords under whom they lived, and to congratulate themselves on the complete freedom which they enjoyed on lands which were now their own, and which with industry and patience gave them at least a comfortable subsistence. The waters that surround the island, and the numerous streams which everywhere find their way to the sea abound in fish of all kinds, and it was easy for them to live in this new land compared with the one they had left. As the country grew older, as its means of communication increased—very slowly it must be admitted in this long neglected island—as its great coal mines were developed, the appearance of Cape Breton improved much for the better. Many of the children of the old settlers went to the American cities, and returning from time to time to their old homes, brought with them fresh ideas which have already made their influence felt, even in the remote Scotch and Acadian settlements. In the beginning of the present century there were only a little over two thousand persons, exclusive of a few hundred Indians, throughout the island, but at the present time the population is close to ninety thousand,² of whom between fifty and sixty thousand are the descendants of the immigrants from the islands and highlands of Scotland.

It was not until well into the present century that the rich mines of bituminous coal with which the island abounds, chiefly on the eastern coast, between little Bras d'Or and

¹ Brown, "Hist. of C. B.," 386.

² The Census returns of 1891 show as follows: Cape Breton, 34,223; Inverness, 25,781; Richmond, 14,400; Victoria, 12,390. As in other parts of Canada there has been an exodus of young men and women to the United States for the last forty years, and the increase of population from decade to decade is consequently not shown by the Census.

Cow Bay, became developed to any extent. They appear to have been known to the French even in the days of Sieur Denys, who was given the right to collect a small duty on coal and plaster within the island. While Louisbourg was occupied by the French, they brought fuel chiefly from the cliffs of Morienne, now Cow Bay, and also from the little Labrador as it was then called. The English from 1745 to 1749, when they occupied Louisbourg, used the coal chiefly at Burnt Head, near Lingan or Bridgeport,¹ and the Labrador. After 1758, when Cape Breton became a permanent possession of England, the mines at Cow Bay supplied the garrison and inhabitants of Louisbourg, and were for years protected by a fort and block house, of which a memorial remains in the name of the "Block House Mine." The coal deposits for seventy years were worked in a fitful and unsatisfactory manner, either by the government itself or by small contractors, and the yearly output did not average more than 4,000 chaldrons during that period. The British government did not at any time take an active interest in their operations, or encourage their development by commercial enterprise. A small tax or royalty was usually levied on each chaldron of coal mined by the contractor for the time being, and it was the opposition to the payment of taxes by Messrs. Leaver and Ritchie, who had the lease of the Sydney mines in 1816 that helped to show the English authorities the necessity of making a change in the government of the island in 1820.² Some years after the island was again united to Nova Scotia, the imperial government gave a monopoly for sixty years of the mines of the whole province to a spendthrift royal duke—the Duke of York—who deeded his rights to a famous firm of English jewellers, Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, who formed an English association in 1827, known as the General Mining Association. This company worked the mines of Sydney, Bridgeport and other places in Nova Scotia for thirty years, exclusively under their charter of monopoly. An agitation against their sole use of such valuable property eventually ended in an arrangement by which all the mines came into the possession of the government of the province, with the exception of those at Sydney, Pictou and other places where the association had long been working successfully.³ As a consequence of this important change in the proprietorship of the mines of Cape Breton, there are now some ten collieries carrying on a large trade⁴ in one of the richest sources of wealth which the island possesses.

The total output of coal from the mines of the island of Cape Breton has now reached about a million of tons, and the total export at about seven hundred thousand tons.⁵ The

¹ See *infra*, sec. IX.

² See *supra*, two pages. Also Brown, "Hist. of Cape Breton," pp. 433-435.

³ Mr. Gilpin, inspector of coal mines for the province of Nova Scotia, says with much truth that "the energy and wealth of this company were of great benefit to the province, and its conduct and that of its chief officers has ever been honourable, and calculated to set an example of honesty and reliability." The Association "has now disposed of all the coal lands owned by it in Nova Scotia proper and retains its selections in Cape Breton, operating chiefly in the historical Sydney main seam, which has been drawn upon by the miner for over one hundred years." See "Coal Mining in Nova Scotia," by E. Gilpin, M. Can. Soc. C. E., p. 5

⁴ See App. XV. (last paragraph) to this work for a reference to "Geological Reports of Canada" and other books, showing the value of the coal deposits of Cape Breton.

⁵ Mr. Gilpin, inspector of mines, in his annual report for 1890, gives the following statistics: Bridgeport raised 28,223 tons; Caledonia, 156,174; Franklyn, 723; Glace Bay, 111,472; Gowrie, 141,099; International, 143,091; Ontario, 9,049; Reserve, 155,906; Sydney, 181,571; Victoria, 90,930. The total sales were 916,994 tons, against 738,250 in 1888. The home sales were 223,732 tons, and those in the province of Quebec, 480,462 tons. Until the imposition of a duty in 1867 on Nova Scotia coal coming into the United States ports, the greater proportion of this product found its way into the American market, but since the commencement of Confederation and the

coal mines of Cape Breton have so far monopolized what capital and enterprise have been directed to the island, but attention is now being gradually given to the other mineral and natural riches it possesses. The gypsum is of excellent quality, and found at Mabou, Bedeque and other places in large deposits. Copper is being mined in the neighbourhood of Sydney, and good indications of iron are traced both in Cape Breton and Inverness counties. The Marble Mountain at West Bay, one of the picturesque inlets of the Bras d'Or lake, has long attracted notice, but it is only now that an organized effort is being made to develop this remarkable illustration of nature's handiwork. The deposit is exceedingly extensive, and the marble is described as of the finest quality, "the white being pronounced by experts equal to the best Italian for statuary, while the colored and mottled varieties are very beautiful."¹ As a matter of fact, the actual extent and value of the mineral wealth of the island have hardly yet been fully investigated. Nova Scotia and British Columbia, as the two extremes of the Dominion, must sooner or later be among the largest contributors to the wealth of Canada; and it is safe to say that no section of the former province is so rich in mineral resources as the island of Cape Breton, whose magnificent water facilities give it a decided vantage-ground, so far as shipment of all heavy products like coal, copper, iron, gypsum and marble is concerned.² The trade returns of the two principal ports of Sydney and North Sydney, for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1890, showed that thirteen hundred foreign vessels, representing a total tonnage of 405,937 tons, largely made up of steamers, cleared and entered, against 448 vessels in 1797-98, with an aggregate tonnage of 19,770 tons. The fisheries of the island now employ between 100 and 150 vessels, upwards of 4,000 boats and over 10,000 men, with an annual catch valued at over a million and a half of dollars; but in this particular Cape Breton does not show as much enterprise and energy as some ports in western Nova Scotia, owing to a want of sufficient capital in this great branch of industry, for whose successful prosecution the island, by its geographical situation, is specially adapted. Once famous Louisbourg, which formerly employed in the fisheries about a hundred vessels and boats and a thousand men, with an annual catch estimated at sixty thousand quintals of cod, now only owns at most forty boats, employing about 120 men, while the value of all fish products does not exceed twenty thousand dollars.

In the course of time the island was divided into four electoral districts, named counties—the township system, which gave Sydney one representative for years, being eventually abolished. These counties are Cape Breton, which includes the old township of Sydney; Victoria, so called in honour of the sovereign; Richmond, in memory

opening up of an extensive trade with the country on the St. Lawrence, the intercolonial trade has steadily increased, as the foregoing figures for Quebec show. Out of the total sales of the Nova Scotia mines in 1890, 1,519,684 tons, the United States took only 73,892 tons. Speaking generally the coals of Cape Breton are bituminous and coking; many of the seams yield large volumes of gas of good quality; for domestic purposes they are everywhere acceptable, as they kindle readily and leave little ash. For marine and railway steam-raising they compare favourably with any foreign competitor.

¹ Mr. E. Gilpin in his annual report on the Mines of Nova Scotia for 1890, p. 48.

² The eminent geologist, Sir William Dawson, in a recent debate on the Mines of Cape Breton (see *Trans. of Can. Soc. of Min. Engineers*, Montreal, 1888, p. 35) expressed the opinion that "mining was only beginning to be developed, and he had no doubt that the time would come when Nova Scotia and Cape Breton would become the England of the Dominion and great centres of population. Mining and minerals, unless a great change took place, would undoubtedly form the basis of the wealth of the Dominion, and determine the position of the great cities of the future."

of one of the governors-general of Canada; Inverness, in memory of old Scotia. These districts are represented in the parliament of the Dominion by five members, and in the assembly of Nova Scotia by eight members. For many years of its history the island was governed for certain local purposes by the old English system of quarter sessions, composed of a grand jury and justices of the peace, who imposed the assessment and devoted its proceeds to the public needs; but this unsatisfactory and feeble system has at last given place to municipal self-government based on that of the large and enterprising province of Ontario. Still, despite this move in a right direction, the legislature of the province attempts at times to be a great municipal council for the whole province in many particulars; for instance, in the construction of roads and bridges. This system, as it is worked out by political managers, is susceptible of much political jobbery and wasteful expenditure of the public moneys.

In 1829 an historian¹ wrote of the schools of Cape Breton, "there are none worthy of the name, not even for the acquirement of mere elemental knowledge, except one or two at Sydney and Arichat, and these are chiefly maintained in questionable existence by individual exertion." For nearly thirty years and more the same remarks applied to the educational condition of the island, and it was not until 1865 that the legislature of Nova Scotia at last awoke from its indifference on the subject and adopted a school system which, with the various amendments made subsequently in the original laws, has brought about a great change for the better. Illiteracy was the rule in Cape Breton as in other sections of Nova Scotia until this new school law, largely based on that of the great and prosperous province of Upper Canada, now Ontario, was extended over the province from one end to the other.² Under existing conditions nearly all the children are brought in Cape Breton within the reach of educational influences of some kind. In each of the counties there is an academy, open to all young people who are able to pass the prescribed examinations. In Sydney this institution has attained a high state of efficiency, and is housed in a large and convenient building in remarkable contrast with the school accommodation in the town a quarter of a century ago and less. In addition to these academies there are twenty-five graded schools in the island, a few of which are of a high order, particularly that at North Sydney. The number of common school sections throughout Cape Breton in 1890 was 469, but of these 29 were without teachers—not a creditable statement to make of communities in these days. The 477 teachers employed during the summer term of 1890 in the island are classified as follows:—

Grade A. (Academic and Graded Schools)	8
" B. (First Class).....	62
" C. (Second ").....	153
" D. (Third ").....	254

The third or inferior class of teachers still bears an undue proportion to the total number in each county, as the following statement shows:—

Cape Breton Co.....	69	out of 161	in all.
Richmond.....	37	" " 74	" "
Inverness.....	98	" " 169	" "
Victoria.....	50	" " 73	" "

¹ Haliburton, "Hist. of N. S.," ii. 249.

² Rev. Dr. Smith, of Sydney, has given me the facts on this subject.

The school teachers, as a class, are very poorly paid in this island compared with those in the western province of Ontario. The highest salary paid in the superior grades is \$370 (in Cape Breton county) and the lowest \$193, but there is relatively little disparity between male and female teachers. The women's salaries in the higher schools range from \$318 to \$193 a year, and the men's from \$370 to \$258. In the lower grade of schools the salaries range for men from \$212 to \$122, and for women from \$231 to \$116—those of the latter being on the average in these classes higher than those of the men.¹ The teachers in the academies, graded schools and larger sections are regarded as very competent; but in many of the smaller rural parts they are very inferior, and this is a fact easily explained by the very low salaries that are offered. In some places there is said to be a curious battle going on between the Gaelic teacher and his English pupils who find more amusement than profit from their instruction in a hybrid tongue. Nepotism prevails in Cape Breton, as it does elsewhere in official circles, and the rural trustee finds it very convenient to foist off a poor relation on his district. In all the country sections, school matters are administered by a board of three trustees, but in the incorporated towns the municipal council appoint three of their number to act on a school board, and the government select two other persons on the nomination of course of the local political manager—a fact showing the tenacity with which Nova Scotian politicians cling to patronage, however humble. All the people, irrespective of sects, contribute to the support of the public schools, and a separate school system has practically no recognition in Nova Scotia. In the larger towns there are convents for the education of girls, but these are supported by the voluntary contributions of the Roman Catholics, and have no connection with the public schools of the island. The academies and schools generally are supported by provincial grants and by local taxes. On the whole, the people of Cape Breton have a system of schools which fairly well represents their material and intellectual development. As the island increases in wealth and the people feel more ambitious impulses, education in the rural sections will become of a higher order, and the teacher in his salary and qualifications will illustrate the intelligence and enterprise of the community where he pursues his laborious and responsible occupation.

It is interesting to the people of Cape Breton to learn that at an early period of their history an intelligent English officer wished to give their island a higher position in the government of British America. Colonel Morse, of the Royal Engineers, in 1784, made a tour of Nova Scotia under the orders of Sir Guy Carleton, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in North America, and stated in his "Observations" on the defences and security of the province that he was "strongly impressed with the idea of uniting these provinces [Nova Scotia and New Brunswick] with Canada, to the advantage of both countries, and that by establishing the same laws, inducing a constant intercourse and mutual interest, a great country may yet be raised up in America, to facilitate which it may be found proper to establish a seat of general government and protection," and for this end it occurred to him that "the island of Cape Breton is very favourably situated." It is a

¹ One gentleman to whom I am indebted for information on this point says that "miserably small as the salaries of the lower class teachers are (especially in Inverness where they are nearly three-fifths of the whole) they are, so far as the contribution of the section goes, in some few cases, I believe paid in the way of board, the teachers being passed along from one house to the other." This shows the primitive state of things in certain parts of Cape Breton.

"promontory standing, as it were, between the three provinces, and happily situated for communication with the several parts of all the three, besides being the most safe and easy land for ships to make coming from Europe."¹

IX. SOME PICTURESQUE FEATURES OF CAPE BRETON AND MEMORIALS OF THE FRENCH RÉGIME.

Leaving the subject of the varied resources of Cape Breton to the statist, let us now turn to the picturesque aspect of the island, and to the memorials which still remain of that old *régime*, whose history has been briefly written in these pages. From summer to summer for many years the writer has visited this island endeared to him by the associations and memories of his boyhood, and always interesting for the fresh beauties revealed on its grand coast, its beautiful rivers and its spacious bays, and for the opportunity it gives of drawing the visitor from the prosaic present, with its cares and selfishness, to the contemplation of other days when men and heroes fought and struggled for the supremacy of two great nations on its storm-beaten shores. We find, still lingering on the bays and harbours, the old names which existed in the middle of last century, when M. Pichon, that discontented Frenchman visited the same places, and left us a description of their natural features which in some respects is as true of these days as of his own time. Ile Madame, Baleine and St. Esprit, are still familiar names of the French rule. But Micmac, Portuguese, Spaniard, and Frenchman have in their turn left memorials of their presence indelibly imprinted on the bays, rivers and headlands of this ancient island,—ancient confessedly in American geography. The manner or the time of their baptism is now buried in obscurity or absolute darkness, as I showed in the commencement of this paper, and in many cases it is impossible to tell their exact meaning, and especially is this true of the Indian or Micmac words.

Standing on one of the bleak hills which overlook the Strait between Nova Scotia and Cape Breton we recall its history since the days the Sieur de Fronsac was struggling against the jealousies of rival traders and attempting to establish a seigneurie for himself in its vicinity. His name, which for a while was given to this arm of the sea, long ago disappeared from the memory of all except the historic student, and the old title, whatever its meaning, clings persistently to these picturesque shores. From time to time the graceful fishing vessels of New England glide over its waters, with their white canvas and trim hulls, the envy and admiration of all sailors—so amazingly in contrast with the clumsy hulks of the Basque vessels of St. Jean de Luz which, three centuries ago and more, frequented these coasts.² The derivation of the name is now a matter of conjecture. In the old maps and charts it is spelt Campseau or Canseau, and the present method is an English corruption of the original name. One writer will have that it is derived from the Spanish Ganso, and has reference to the great flocks of wild geese which fly over the Strait at certain periods of the year, and which naturally attracted

¹ See "Can. Archives," (1884) liii, for full text of these "Observations."

² L'Escarbot writes ("Hist. de la Nouvelle France," ii. 576) of an old Basque captain of St. Jean de Luz, one Savalet, who had frequented the eastern ports of Nova Scotia for 42 years before the author saw him in 1605, and whose name was given by the early French voyageurs to a little harbour a short distance from Canseau, probably Whitehaven. See Abbé Laverdière in a note on this latter point in his edition of Champlain's works, ii. 277.

the attention of the early Spanish navigators;¹ but this appears to be a mere ingenious effort of the same fancy which has given a Spanish origin to Canada,—*aça nada*—instead of the generally accepted Iroquois derivation, “kannata” or collection of cabins. It has also been urged that a French sailor by the name of Canse first gave his name to the Strait, but this theory has been easily disposed of by the fact that the author who is mentioned as the authority for this supposition was actually writing of the West Indies, and referred to one Cause.² As a matter of fact the name first appears at the port of Canseau, on the southeast coast of Nova Scotia—a great resort of Breton and Basque fishermen from early times, and was subsequently extended to the arm of the sea between the peninsula of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. L’Escarbot is no doubt correct in stating that it is an Indian word; and indeed on reference to the best work on the Micmac tongue we find that it still exists in the old form of *kamsok* which means “a steep bluff rising on the opposite side.” The Indians, in accord with their custom of naming places from certain natural characteristics, probably so called the Strait from the steep bluffs on the Nova Scotia side—one of which, Cape Porcupine, is especially conspicuous from its curious resemblance to the back of the little animal from which it is named. The French who frequented the port of Canseau at a very early date must have given it the Indian name applied to the whole Strait.

St. Peter’s—the French Port Toulouse—is the first place of importance after leaving the Nova Scotia side of the Strait where we find ourselves on historic ground in Cape Breton. This well-known place, which still retains its importance as a geographical and commercial point, appears to have been named after the Count de Toulouse, who was an illegitimate son of Louis Quatorze and Madame Montespan, and won high distinction as a naval commander. The establishment formed at St. Peter’s by Denys was situated, as far as can be ascertained, on a rocky neck of land in a little cove to the right of the entrance of the canal; and in this same neighbourhood, from the days of the French, there has been always a small settlement of fishermen and traders. The new village which has grown up since the construction of the canal can be seen to the left of the canal and is a collection of painted or whitewashed wooden houses, almost bare of trees. In old times when Pichon wrote of this locality, it was a centre of communication for the whole island, and the most important post after Louisbourg. Here one “could observe the least motion of the English at Canso or in the passage of Fronsac, and advice could be sent to the commandant of Louisbourg in less than eighteen hours.” In 1755 there were in this place two hundred and thirty inhabitants exclusive of officers and troops, and the people who were very industrious found constant employment in building boats and vessels, in the cutting of timber, and in the fisheries. The name of Port Toulouse has passed away since 1758 and the older name of St. Peter’s, which existed in the time of Denys, has been restored, if indeed it ever disappeared from the vocabulary of the people or of the sailors who frequented this port. It is claimed that the name was originally Portuguese, and there is some authority for this claim in the fact that we find in the old maps a cape San Pedro in the vicinity of an arm of the sea between the *terra des Bretones* and Cap de Breton. One learned archæologist is inclined to believe that it was at St. Peter’s, and not at Inganiche that the Portuguese made their first and only settle-

¹ Judge Haliburton, (“Sam Slick”) in his “Hist. of Nova Scotia,” ii. 223, *n*.

² See Abbé Laverdière’s note in his edition of Champlain’s works, ii. 279, *n*.

ment in the Gulf, and goes so far as to make them the builders of a fort the ruins of which can still be traced about one hundred yards to the westward of the canal;¹ but here we enter into the realm of mere speculation and have really no facts before us except the general knowledge that this was certainly a favourite resort of the early French, and was probably visited by the Portuguese as early as, if not before, the Basques. We have to be content with the information given us by Champlain, who had the best means of knowing something of the subject, that Inganiche was the scene of the abortive attempt of the Portuguese to establish a settlement in Cape Breton, and we should probably be grateful to the learned antiquarian who favours the claim of St Peter's that in his zeal for the Portuguese he does not tax our ingenuity too far, but allows the Micmacs to retain the possession of the word Inganis or Inganiche—undoubtedly of Indian origin. But leaving these interesting imaginings of the Old Mortalities of the countries on the Gulf,—and it is amazingly easy to build up theories of the past on the slight evidence that remains to us of the occupation of the island before the French—we come to the remarkable mediterranean sea known in these times as the Bras d'Or lake. Here we can sail or steam for many hours on the bosom of an arm of the sea ever widening, ever lessening, with the highlands of the north always visible, and the lowlands of the south receding as we find ourselves on one of its great expansions. Anon we pass through a narrow gorge or channel cut by some convulsion of nature, or more probably worn by the action of the waves since primeval times, and pass from one lake to another. From northeast to southwest, in the course of untold centuries since the world was young, the ocean steadily forced its way through the rocky hills of the interior of the island and formed a series of lakes, bays and channels affording safe and uninterrupted navigation for ships of large size for at least fifty miles from Point Aconi, the most easterly head of Boularderie island, to the narrow isthmus which long barred progress to the Gut of Canso, but which, too, must in some distant future have yielded to the never ceasing action of the sea. Here at last the enterprise of man has come to the aid of these inland waters, and given them access to St. Peter's Bay by means of the fine canal already mentioned. The lake divides Cape Breton into two sections, each distinguished by diverse natural features. The northern division is remarkable for its lofty mountains and cliffs, which end at last in Capes Lawrence and North. The southern division has none of the ruggedness and grandeur of the country on the other side of the lake, but here we find the most spacious harbours—of which Sydney and Louisbourg are the best—and the richest coal areas of the island. From Port Hawkesbury to the Strait of Canso as far as Cape St. Lawrence, there are no good harbours on the picturesque western coast compared with those on the southern and eastern shores of the other division. Between the eastern entrances of the Bras d'Or and the storm-swept

¹ Rev. Dr. Patterson in Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Can. vol. viii, 2 sec. Another Nova Scotian writer, R. G. Haliburton, in 'Popular Science Monthly' for May, 1885, p. 48, is also inclined to believe in a Portuguese colony at St. Peter's. "Traditions" he writes, "as to an early settlement still linger among the Micmacs, who aver that certain earth-mounds at St. Peter's, Cape Breton, were built by white men before the arrival of the French. This belief received many years ago a confirmation by the discovery in one of these mounds of an archaic cannon formed of bars of iron fastened with iron bands or hoops, those toward the breech being the strongest. This gun attracted little attention at the time and was broken up. My knowledge of this circumstance is derived from the historian of that province [his father Judge Haliburton] who, for more than twenty years was on circuit in Cape Breton once, if not twice, a year. * * * An inquiry into the date of the manufacture of such guns showed clearly that it must have been brought out before the arrival of the French in Cape Breton. Were these remains at St. Peter's vestiges of this early Portuguese colony?" See *infra*, sec. X, similar cannon at Louisbourg.

promontory of Cape North, there is the fine harbour of St. Anne's, which at one time was nearly chosen the capital of Cape Breton, then Ile Royale, and is in its natural aspect more interesting than Louisbourg on account of the sublime vistas of forest-clad hills and of the great ocean far beyond. The Bras d'Or lake is connected at the east with the Gulf by means of two guts or straits known as the great and the little Bras d'Or entrances—one running to the north and the other to the south of the fine island of Boularderie which is a long narrow tract of land now inhabited chiefly by Scotch settlers, and which was also called in French times the Ile de Verderonne, until it came to be better known by the name of its first proprietor, a French gentleman who served with distinction in the French navy and at Port Royal in Acadie.¹ At several points on the lake from St. Peter's to Sydney, there are many features of interest to attract the tourist. The picturesque narrows which connect the two lakes, is now crossed by a graceful drawbridge of iron, over which the railway passes from the Strait of Canso to the capital town of Cape Breton. At this point you catch many charming glimpses of the expansive lake and the dim hills which stretch far to the north and west. Baddeck, strictly speaking Bedek,² an old Micmac name changed by the French to Bedeque, is a charming little harbour where a summer retreat has been made on the slopes and plateaus of the hills which rise from the water's edge. Here Charles Dudley Warner dipped his pen to describe its charms in his humorous vein, and now science finds its representative in the inventor of the telephone who has raised his laboratory in this sylvan retreat, and finds the rest he needs by cruising in the devious channels and bays of these beauteous inland waters. The sail from this pretty spot through the entrance of the great Bras d'Or offers many a charming vista of cliffs where the gypsum³ mingles its white with the dark green of the overhanging spruce, and where the land rises into lofty hills, with their slopes dotted by cottages on little patches of meadow. Churches, with tapering steeples, all of an unfailing type, square, commodious and ugly, testify to the religious fervour of the inhabitants who

¹ The first Frenchman who obtained a grant to settle and develop the fine island at the entrance of the Bras d'Or Lake was Louis Simon de St. Aubin de Poupet, Chevalier de la Boularderie, who had been *enseigne de vaisseau* in the French navy, and distinguished himself as commander of a company in the successful defence of Port Royal in 1707 against the New Englanders under Colonel Wainwright. He appears to have been connected with a commercial company for the settlement of the islands of Inganiche and Verderonne (now Boularderie) and the lands in the vicinity of the little entrance to the Bras d'Or. He died in October, 1738, and was replaced by his son who was also in the French navy. The latter was appointed commandant of Inganiche or Port d'Orleans in 1741. His establishment at Labrador was burned in 1747 by the French "in order to annoy the English in obedience to the orders of M. de La Galissoniere," the English being then in possession of the island. Why it was necessary to burn a Frenchman's buildings to annoy the English, the summary given in the Canadian Archives of the French document relating to this affair, does not state, but it appears the French at that locality were submissive to English allegiance, and assisted in supplying the English garrison at Louisbourg with coal. It seems Boularderie and his family were reduced to poverty and applied to the French government for relief, when Louisbourg came again into possession of the French. He was given assistance, and was probably the same person who was captured by the English on the day of the landing at Gabarus Bay in 1745, and afterwards released by Governor Shirley on his arrival in Boston. He was appointed in 1746 a Captain in the French army in Canada. See Murdoch, "Hist. of Nova Scotia, i. 293-360. "Can. Archives," (1887), ccxciv, cccci, cccliii-ccciv, cccvi, ccxcv, ccclxxiv-v, ccclxxix, ccclxxxii, ccclxxxiv, ccclxvi-vii, ccclxvii, "Quebec Doc.," iii. 241-374-592.

² Dr. Rand ("Micmac Dict.") gives the correct name as ebēdēk.

³ In the marine limestone formation of the island "the gypsum is met rising like a ruined marble palace of Eastern climes from the waters of the Bras d'Or, or frowning in a cliff hollowed into a thousand little caves and recesses by the waves and ice. In the woods, from a distance, it recalls the tented homes of an army, or broods like a dismantled castle over some quiet valley." See E. Gilpin's paper on the Minerals of the Carboniferous (N. S. Inst. of Nat. Sc., 1889.)

live by the side of this interesting lake. At vespers, we hear the peal of the bells coming over the water, and finding an echo in the dark receding hills. Sometimes this sheet of water takes a fancy of running deviously into the recesses of the hills and of forming bays and basins, where the land rises precipitously from the water's edge, and only at intervals offers places sufficiently level for the farmer to make his little clearing. Many places on the lakes bear uncouth Micmac names—Whycocomagh, for instance—but still there are not a few memorials of the old French days. One romantic basin, where the entrance is barred by ragged islets, and the shores are indented by numerous little coves, receives the waters of a stream which forces its way from the northwestern country where we meet with a Sky Glen, a Mull, a Glen Dhu, Strath Lorn, Glencoe and Brigend, to remind us of the origin of the people who now live among the Cape Breton hills. But this basin and river still bear the name of Denys,—in honour of the old seigneur of Cape Breton, who during his residence at St. Peter's constructed a road to connect his post with the Labrador. It was his practice to haul his boats over this road.

No one who visits the Bras d'Or lake but will readily confess that it is appropriately called the Golden Arm, not merely on account of its picturesque features but equally for the natural wealth that exists in its waters, its excellent farm lands, its plaster quarries, and for the other riches that still lie buried in its mountain ranges. This poetic name, however, appears to be quite of recent origin. All the old French and English charts of the island give to the lake the name of Labrador. It is true the English and French versions of Pichon's descriptive sketch, in one place, speak of the Golden Arm,—probably the origin of the new name—but in every other part of the work he uses the old title.¹ In Denys's map of 1672 and in that of the Sieur de Bellin in 1744, we find "Labrador"—the latter adding "*appelée par les sauvages Bideauboch.*" It is still called by the Micmacs Petoobook, which is the correct spelling of a word which the French reproduced as nearly as possible from the sound. In all probability it is the same name given by the Portuguese navigators to the sterile country, to the east of Canada, which they were the first of Europeans to discover. How it came also to be applied to this inland sea of Cape Breton, we have no conclusive evidence to guide us. It is generally believed that the name was first given to the coast of the continent because Cortereal took away with him a number of Indians who were described as well fitted for slaves. No such incident is connected with the history of Cape Breton. If it were possible to believe that the name Brador or Bradour is an Indian name meaning a deep and narrow bay which, like the fiords of Scandinavia, stretches into the interior of a country, then the difficulty would be solved, but there is no authority for this statement which is made by a writer whose theories on such subjects have not generally stood the test of accurate inquiry.² Bradore Bay on the Labrador coast is considered to be of French origin—simply the Breton mode of pronouncing *Bras d'eau*; and if we are to accept this as a fact then it is easy to suppose that the French who settled on this Cape Breton sea gave it the name which describes its natural characteristics. It is a curious fact, which is worth mentioning in this connection that a French privateer commanded by a M. de Brotz, which was captured by Captain Tyng before the first siege of Louisbourg, while cruising in search of colonial vessels, was not only

¹ In his description of the island of Cape Breton he always speaks of the Labrador. See App. VII, (5) to this work. Jefferys' Atlas (1778) has also "Labrador."

² M. Jules Marcou, cited by Ganong in 'Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Can.,' VII., sec. 2, p. 52.

built on the lake, but actually called after it, Labrador, — another proof of the general acceptance of the name. It is just possible that among the early settlers in this part of the island there were some French settlers from Bradore bay on the bleak northeastern coast of the Gulf and that in this way the name was first given to this beautiful lake which, in later times, so impressed its visitors that they changed it to the more poetic appellation which it now bears with general approval.

If Bras d'Or is but a modern phrase, it is not the only example we have of the tendency to give a French version to names, the original meaning of which has been lost in the lapse of centuries. We see this illustrated in the name of the little bay of Mainadieu, to the westward of the dangerous isle of Scatari, to which was also sometimes given the name of Little Cape Breton. To the southeast of this bay is that cape from which the large island itself has in the course of years been called. Nearly all the French maps describe it as Menadou—and Charlevoix gives us for a variation Panadou—in all probability an Indian name like Pictou¹ in Nova Scotia or Mabou in Cape Breton, or Cibou,² which was the Micmac name of either St. Anne's or Sydney harbour, if not of both. It was obviously easy to coin Mainadieu out of the old Indian word, so akin to it in sound, and to suppose that it was once given by some storm-tossed sailor who believed that he saw the hand of God stretched forth to guide him into this little haven of refuge on the rough Cape Breton coast. Nigh by are two little harbours on whose encircling hills fishermen have dwelt from the earliest days of which we have any records, and whose names appear frequently in the accounts of the two sieges of Louisbourg, especially in that of 1758, since it was at one of these ports that Wolfe established a depot for the support of his batteries on Lighthouse Point. Some years ago a woman of the neighbourhood, while passing a little hillock, accidentally discovered a small jar which had been hidden for a century and a quarter or more, until the rains and snows had worn away the earth and brought it to light. As she lifted it carelessly a little stream of gold coin poured forth—louis d'or from the mint of the days of Louis Quinze, whose head was imprinted on the metal. In all probability, in a hurried flight to Louisbourg, when the English came on the coast in 1758, the treasure was buried and never reclaimed by the owner who met his death behind the walls of the old town. The place where these coins were found is now known as Little Loran in distinction from Great or Big Loran, the port nearest to Louisbourg, where Wolfe made his post. Some contend that the name is only a corruption of Lorraine, but nowhere in any writing or map is there authority for such an hypothesis. Billan, Pichon and others give us Lorembec, which naturally recalls Malpec, Kennebec, Cascumpec, Norembeque or Norembec, and other Indian names of old times of Acadie and the countries on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In the Micmac tongue *bek* or *bec* is a familiar termination to the names of places, and one or two French writers have called this

¹ Sir W. Dawson is authority for the statement (Trans. of Can. Soc. of Min. Eng., 1878, Montreal, p. 35) "that the name Pictou originated with the old Micmacs because of the gaseous emanations which were continually taking place on the outcrops of the coal seams."

² Grand Cibou is the old Micmac name generally given to St. Anne's (Brown's History, 77), but it appears from the narrative of Mr. Charles Leigh, who visited Cape Breton in 1597, he entered a harbour called by the natives "Cibou," which, from his description, is clearly Sydney. (See Hakluyt, Goldsmid's ed., xiii. 69.) It is quite obvious that the early voyagers found the Micmac name of river, seeboo, applied indifferently to such fine harbours as St. Anne and Sydney. We meet with the same name on the western coast of Acadie, in the beautiful river of Sissibou. (See *infra*, third page, note.) Brown does not appear to have studied the Indian names.

harbour Laurentbec. In L'Escarbot's map we find St. Loran given to a cape at the north of Cape Breton, but this was done to give a place to probably one of Cartier's names, Cape Lorraine.¹ We may assume that Laurentbec was simply an attempt to gallicise an unknown Indian name whose sound to the ear naturally recalled the familiar title of the great gulf and river of Canada. Loran² is only a corruption of the stately name of Lorraine, which was given it for years, when no one, after the occupation by the English, could interpret the original word Lorembec, and there was a general tendency to fall back on the French *régime* in such matters of perplexity. In all likelihood we see in the strange and hitherto meaningless Lorembec a survival of an Algonquin word, which was applied in some remote time of which we have no accurate knowledge to the ill-defined region which was known as Norumbega or Norumbec, and even Arambec—though the latter was generally given to Nova Scotia—and was believed by some mariners and geographers of ancient days to extend from Florida even to the eastern shores of Cape Breton. The old French voyagers may have found the word on the coast of Cape Breton, and have given it to the places where it lingered long until it became at last Loran. Thus we may see in these obscure harbours of eastern Cape Breton a link to connect us with the past of northeastern America—the land of shadows and mysteries, where the city of Norumbega rose with palaces as substantial as those châteaux en Espagne of which all of us dream in the buoyancy and enthusiasm of hopeful and early manhood.³

The following verses on the Indian names of places in Acadie and Cape Breton, written in a melodious rhythm by a Nova Scotian poet,⁴ will interest my readers in connection with the subject to which we are now referring.

"The memory of the Red man
How can it pass away,
While their names of music linger
On each mount, and stream, and bay?
While Musquodoboit's waters
Roll sparkling to the main;
While falls the laughing sunbeam
On Chegogin's fields of grain.

"While Escasoni's fountains
Pour down their crystal tide;
While Inganish's mountains
Lift high their forms of pride;
Or while on Mabou's river
The boatman plies his oar,
Or the billows burst in thunder
On Chickāben's rock-girt shore.

¹ See App. VII to this work.

² It is worth noting that at the mouth of the great Orinocco River there is an island named Loran. Perhaps some may trace a connection between these names of Loran in North and South America and the voyages of the early European voyagers to this continent.

³ See App. IV to this work, where this interesting subject is still further discussed. Professor Eben N. Horsford, of Cambridge, Mass.,—the enthusiastic exponent of the theory that the ruins of mysterious Norumbega underlie Watertown, in the basin of the Charles near Boston,—traces in the ancient word a dialectic equivalent of an old Norse form of Norway which has survived on the lips of the eastern Indian tribes. Certainly even those who differ from him must arise from the perusal of his elaborate essays, so rich in valuable maps and illustrations, with the feeling, "Si non é vero é ben trovato." "See "The Defences of Norumbega," pp. 20-25.

⁴ Mr. Lighthall in "Songs of the Great Dominion" (London, 1889), like some others, attributes this frequently quoted poem to the late Professor De Mille, a Nova Scotian, author of "The Dodge Club Abroad" in 'Harper's Monthly,' "The Cryptogram," and several other works of light literature. I had often heard it was written by a Mr. Richard Huntington, who was a journalist for a time at Sydney, C. B., and afterwards removed to Yarmouth, N. S., where he followed his profession, and published the verses in question. The Rev. J. R. Campbell, in his "History of Yarmouth" (St. John, N. B., 1876) mentions this fact.

" While floats our country's banner
O'er Chebuctou's glorious wave;
And the frowning hills of Scatario
The trembling surges brave.
While breezy Aspotogon
Lifts high its summit blue,
And sparkles on its winding way
The gentle Sissibou.

" The memory of the Red Man
It lingers like a spell
On many a storm-swept headland
On many a leafy dell;
Where Tusket's thousand islets
Like emeralds stud the deep;
Where Blomidon, a sentry
His endless watch doth keep.

" It dwells round Catalone's blue lake,
'Mid leafy forests hid —
Round fair Discousse and the rushing tides
Of the turbid Pisiquid.
And it lends Chebogue, a touching grace,
To thy softly flowing river,
As we sadly think of the gentle race
That has passed away forever."

The poet has certainly used much poetic license in the closing words of his charming verses, for the records of history show that the Micmacs, during the wars between France and England on this continent, were far from being the "gentle race" here described. Indeed we have already read in a previous part of this monograph that they were considered among the most cruel and relentless of all the Indian nations. So far, too, from it being true that they have "passed away forever" the fact is that while they do not increase they are still numerous¹ in the island of Cape Breton, where they live on reserves by the side of the Bras d'Or, near the most picturesque parts of that beautiful sea. At Escasoni, prettily situated on the north side of the east arm of the lake — one of the poetic names given in the verses before us — the Indians own a fine reserve. On Chapel Island, once called St. Villemai, at the entrance of St. Peter's Inlet, they have a good chapel; and here the whole tribe assembles every summer for two weeks to celebrate the feast of St. Ann, and to attend the annual religious mission. They cultivate patches of land, and live in small cabins, but a few of them are still nomadic in their habits and periodically visit the towns and villages, near which they remain for a week in their birch-bark wigwams, making various wooden ware for which they obtain a ready market. But as a rule the Indians of the island are more steady and industrious than those of Nova Scotia proper.² Some of them still remember the stories that have come down from their ancestors of the French *régime*, and it was not long since the present writer copied

¹ By the Census of 1881 there were 250 Micmacs in Cape Breton County; 100 in Inverness; 90 in Victoria; 110 in Richmond, or 550 in the Island.

² In the report of the Indian department for 1890 (Can. Sess. P., No. 12), there is the following favourable account of the Indians of Cape Breton:

"In the northern counties, notably in those of Cape Breton Island, they are more enterprising and thrifty than their brethren in the southern counties, where the tendency to roam about the country keeps them from becoming domestic in their habits, and improving their lands. The Indians of the southern counties are also more prone to the intemperate use of intoxicants, as the temptations to which they are exposed in their wandering life are greater than those the Indians of Cape Breton have to encounter. The principal sources from which the former (Nova Scotia Indians) derive their subsistence are coopering, basket-making, and the other manufactures in which Indians are especially skilled. On the other hand, the Indians of Cape Breton devote themselves for the most part to the cultivation of the soil, and to employments which necessitate their remaining more at home; and the superiority of the one mode of life over the other is proven by the far more comfortable circumstances in which the latter Indians are found than the former."

the following testimonial of the fidelity of a well known Micmac chief of old times from an ancient document which his descendant was in the habit of taking on board the French men-of-war from the Newfoundland coast when they anchored at Sydney—as is their practice every summer—for the purpose of stimulating the generosity of the officers and men.

Jean Louis Comte de Raymond, Chevalier, Seigneur d'Oyé, La Tour, ey autres lieux, Maréchal des Camps et armées du Roi, Lieutenant pour sa Majesté des villes et du château d'Angoulême, Gouverneur et Commandant des Isles Royales Saint Jean et autres.

Sur les bons témoignages qui nous ont été rendues de la fidélité et attachement aux Français du nommé Jannot Pequidoulouet et de son zèle pour la religion et le service du roi nous l'avons nommé et établi; et par ses presentes, nommons et établissons chef des sauvages de l'île Royale.

En foi de quoi nous avons signé ces presentes et y avons fait apposer le cachet de nos armes et contre-signé par l'un de nos Secrétaires.

Fait à Louisbourg le 17 Sbre, 1751.

(Seal) LE COMTE DE RAYMOND,
Pour Monsieur le Comte,
(Signé) PICHON.

John Louis Count de Raymond, Chevalier, Lord of Oyé, La Tour and other places, Field Marshal of the King's army, Lieutenant for his Majesty of the towns and castle of Angoulême, Governor and Commander of Ile Royale, St. John and other islands.

On account of the many evidences of fidelity and attachment to the French given by Jannot Pequidoulouet, as well as of his zeal for the religion and service of the king, we have nominated and appointed, and do hereby nominate and appoint him by these presents, Chief of the savages of Isle Royale.

In proof of which we have signed these Presents, and have appended thereto the seal of our arms, and the countersign of one of our Secretaries.

Done at Louisbourg, 17th Sept., 1751.

COUNT DE RAYMOND,
Countersigned by
PICHON.

Scatari, Mabou, Discousse, Inganiche and Escasoni are, doubtless, Micmac names which have come to us through the French vocabulary, more or less changed in form and sound.¹ Scatarie or rather Scatari, as given in Bellin's and other French maps, is a

¹ I have only mentioned in the text those names in the poem which belong to Cape Breton. The other names, I may more appropriately explain here, still cling to the same places in Nova Scotia. Musquodoboit is a fine river, flowing southeast into the Atlantic ocean, in the county of Halifax. Its meaning I have not been able to learn. A famous Nova Scotia statesman and poet, Hon. Joseph Howe, spent "two of the happiest years" of his life—to quote his own words—upon the headwaters of this river, where he "learned to plough, to mow, to reap, to cradle," while he rested his brains wearied with the fierce contests of old times of responsible government. (See Howe's "Speeches and Letters," i. 513.) Chegogin is a village on a river of the same name, eight miles from Yarmouth, and is the corrupted form of the Indian Isegôgin or place for weirs. (Campbell, "History of Yarmouth," p. 4.) Chebuctou, or Chebouctou, is Halifax harbour, and means in Micmac the chief or biggest harbour or bay—che-bookt. Aspotogon is the name of a remarkable mountain on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, in Lunenburg county, fifty miles west from Halifax. I cannot give its meaning. The Sissibou is the old name of an extensive and beautiful river on the western side of St. Mary's Bay, in western Nova Scotia, and signifies "big river (cibou), an appellation which was given to it, on account of its discharging the largest body of fresh water of any river in that part of the province." (Haliburton ii. 170.) Chicaben appears to have disappeared from Nova Scotia geography, but Mr. Flint, M. P. for Yarmouth, informs me that it is the Indian name for a flower or plant which once flourished at Church Point, Clare township, Co. of Digby. Many years ago it was proposed to revive this old name of Church Point, but the proposition fell through and the Indian word is now almost forgotten. Tusket is the name of a river, a village and a cluster of rocky islets in southwestern Nova Scotia. Blomidon, which would always be remarkable for its grand beauty if it had not been made famous by the great American poet, is probably a foreign word, some say Portuguese. (See Dr. Patterson, Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., viii, sec. 2, pp. 153, 154.) It was called by the French in early times Cape Battiste. (Dr. Patterson, Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., viii, 2 sec., 153, 154.) Pisiqid is an old Indian name which Dr. Rand gives as Pesegitk, meaning "to flow splitwise as the tide passes up near Windsor and divides off into the St. Croix." Chebogue, called by some Indians (Campbell, "History of Yarmouth," p. 3). Itebogue, or spring water, and by others Tecebogue, or cold water, is a well known village and river near Yarmouth, N.S.

triangular island, off the most eastern coast of Cape Breton, and one of the most dangerous parts of the continent until the present lighthouse was erected. It is doubtful if it is Indian — it is probably a corrupted European name since, like Cape Breton, and Porto Novo, an island in the vicinity, it must have been first seen and named by the Basques, Bretons or Portuguese who visited these waters so many centuries ago. Scatari was also called Ponchartrain on some French maps, but it was never so known for any length of time. Inganiche is believed by some persons to be a Portuguese word, but even so earnest a supporter of the claims of that people to early discovery as Dr. Patterson admits that it is Micmac, although the meaning is now lost. Mabou is a small harbour on the western coast of Cape Breton, at the mouth of a river, of the same river which flows through a beautiful and fertile valley, whose fine meadow lands, rich with grasses, and shaded by noble elms and maples, afford a charming contrast with the rugged hills that stretch from the picturesque bay of Whycocomagh to the waters of the Gulf. Discousse is a fishing village in Ile Madame, nearly opposite St. Peter's Bay, and called Decoux by Pichon. Catalone or Catalogne is a reference to the picturesque lake, situated in the hilly country between Mira and Louisbourg, and only separated from the great Mira Bay by a narrow sandbar. The correct spelling is really Catalogne, which, some contend, is clearly the French version of the Spanish Cataluna or the ancient province of Catalonia in Spain, of which the mountainous features might in some respects be compared to this section of Cape Breton. It is claimed that both Catalogne Lake and Mira Bay, which are only separated from each other by a mere sandbar, have been named by the Portuguese and Spanish sailors that anchored frequently, centuries ago, in the bay. On the other hand, it is a fact all important in the discussion of this point, that in several documents relating to Louisbourg, still among the Paris Archives, there are references to a M. de Catalogne, who was an officer of the garrison from 1728 to 1735. A M^{lle} de Catalogne, either his daughter or sister, was married to a M. de Gannes in 1730, who was sent to New York in 1738 to purchase flour for the use of the inhabitants of the town. M. de Catalogne died about 1735, for there is an allusion in one of the official papers to some difficulties that occurred in that year, respecting the disposition of his property.¹ It is probable then that Lake Catalogne received its name from this officer, though the archives so far accessible give us no evidence that he had property in the vicinity. Mirè,² as the bay is invariably spelt in French documents, it may be added, would be naturally the French adaptation of Mira, the origin of which was probably unknown to the French of Louisbourg.³

The origin and meaning of Gabarus—the name of the Bay so famous in the history of the two sieges of Louisbourg—have perplexed inquirers. In all the French writers it

¹ "Can. Archives," 1887, cccv, cccvii, cccxviii.

² It is an interesting fact that in the "Ulloas' Voyage to South America" we read of a village of Mira near Quito, Chili, where the savants made some astronomical observations. A small river of the same name is also situated to the N. W. of the village in question. See Ulloa, i. 239.

³ Since the remarks in the text were in type, I have seen an entry in the Index to the Quebec "Collection de Manuscrits," etc., which would intimate that a French officer, de Miré, may have given his name to the bay and river in Cape Breton. Two references are given of "de Miré" (iii. 284, 385) but one of them refers only to the bay, and the other to a M. de Miry (not Miré), a lieutenant ordered in 1746 to make a descent on the New England frontier. I cannot, however, find there was ever an officer of the name of Miré, or Miray (as the bay is generally spelt in French maps) at Louisbourg. As in the case of Gabarus, however, it is just possible we may have an easy solution of the whole question in the existence of a French officer or merchant who lived for a while in Cape Breton.

has its present name, but in most of the English accounts of the sieges of 1745 and 1758 it appears as Chapeau Rouge. Some may think that there is a connection between the two names; that Chapeau Rouge was given by the English colonists in 1745, as through an error for Gabarus, these respective names sounding much the same in ordinary conversation. Dr. Parkman throws doubt on the identity of the names, but does not help us to solve the problem. It is noteworthy, however, that the name Chapeau Rouge was not uncommon in the French nomenclature of New France. It is still found in Placentia Bay, on the southeastern coast of Newfoundland, directly across from Gabarus in Cape Breton. During the French occupation of Plaisance, Chapeau Rouge was a post of some importance and is frequently mentioned in the records of the time. It has been assumed by some persons with whom I have discussed the question that Chapeau Rouge may have been given to the Cape Breton bay by the settlers from Plaisance and its vicinity in remembrance of their former home in Newfoundland; but there is no evidence whatever to support this mere surmise. In Bellin's map of 1744 Gabarus assumes the still more mysterious form of Gabori. As a matter of fact the bay appears to have been named at an early period of its history after one Cabarrus, a Frenchman of Bayonne, who was the first to visit its waters though I have not been able to find the exact date. This much, however, I have learned on excellent authority. The family of Cabarrus—or Gabarrus as it was sometimes called—had been for a long time engaged in trade at Bayonne, and for a number of years in the fisheries of Acadie and New France. They had an establishment in the bay which now bears their name.¹

It is curious to note how in the course of time, under the English occupation, the French names of places have assumed different forms, though retaining more or less the original vocal sounds of the old words. We see this strikingly exemplified in the present name of Langan which has been given for very many years to a shallow bay which is one of the several harbours and bays that indent the coast of Cape Breton between Louisbourg and Sydney. On all the French maps it is marked L'Indiane or L'Indienne. Pichon informs us that this was a remarkable bay on account of the English having erected in 1745 a fort at a place called Cape Coal for the purpose of supplying the Louisbourg garrison with fuel. The French after they resumed the occupation of the fortress made use of the coal in the same mine and the intendant frequently gave leave to his favourites to load their ships from the pit instead of taking ballast. The mine, however, caught fire in the summer of 1752, and the fort was burned to the ground. Another name which has been considerably or almost entirely changed in its vocalisation is that of Arichat, an old and once prosperous town, famous for its large fishing establishments, situated on Ile Madame—or Maurepas from a well known French statesman—an island on the southeastern coast of Cape Breton where a large number of descendants of the old Acadians and French still follow their occupations as sailors, fishermen and farmers. The name "Madame" given for nearly two centuries to this well-known island, the prin-

¹ I am indebted for this information to M. Alph. Pinart of the Société de Géographie à Paris. In a catalogue of the well known bookseller, Dufossé of Paris, appears the following entry which corroborates the statement in the text:

"Cabarrus (Dominique de) Lettres de noblesse accordées au Sieur Dominique de Cabarrus, négociant à Bayonne, données à Versailles au mois d'avril, 1789. Copie contresignée par d'Hozier de Serigny, 4pp. in fol. Cachet du Cabinet d'Hozier.

Extr : 'C'est le frère du Sieur Dominique de Cabarrus qui a donné son nom à la baye Cabarrus à l'isle royale.'

Arichat G. Fates
Elan Bay N.S.

cial home of the Acadian French in Cape Breton, provokes inquiry. Madame was the title usually given to the eldest daughter of a French king or of a dauphin, or to the wife of the king's brother. I have not been able to find the exact date, when, and consequently the particular princess for whom, it was named. It must have been so called when Louisbourg, Toulouse, Orleans, and other places received royal titles in honour of the new importance that Cape Breton attained after the treaty of Utrecht. The old Indian name was Nericka, but its origin is obscure. Rand gives the present Micmac name as Neliksaak which is probably the original form.¹ Many places on the coast have entirely changed the names that appear in Bellin's and other French maps. Morienne Bay, for instance, a large sheet of water adjoining Mira Bay, on whose banks the French opened a coal mine in 1720, has assumed the humble title of Cow Bay from some insignificant incident or other in the life of the early English settlers. The aristocratic name Port Dauphin has long since been forgotten in that of the saint who has been so favoured in the French nomenclature of the province of Quebec. The names of de Rouville, de Costabelle, de Beaucourt and de Soubras, which were given during the French *régime* in honour of well known officers and officials at Louisbourg to certain places around the noble bay have been replaced by the names that attest the presence of the sturdy Gaelic people who till the mountain slopes or toil on the sea that is visible from every point of the picturesque country that surrounds that once famous bay. Point Dauphin, however, still clings to the southern head of the bay in memory of French times. Port of Orleans, however, is long since forgotten, and no one except the historical student will remember that it was intended to replace the old Indian name of Niganis or Inganiche.

As I write of Inganiche, amid the rocks of the stern northern coast of Cape Breton, I recall the interest that was taken many years ago in a bell that was brought to Sydney from the old port, where it had been discovered on the site of the chapel of the French settlement. It had a remarkably clear tone and must have been often heard for a considerable distance over sea and land when the wind was favourable. It had been baptized in orthodox fashion as the following inscription showed:—

“ Pour la Paroisse de Inganiche jay été nommée Jean Françoisse par Johannis Decarette et par Françoisse Vrail, Parain et Maraine—la fosse Hvet de St. Malo m'a fait. An. 1729.”²

This interesting relic may have found its way to New England, where the most of such relics have gone, but its fate I have forgotten. How often in days gone by the sailors of some passing ship, on its way to the St. Lawrence, must have heard with joy the peal of this bell as it was borne over the water from the headlands of Inganiche to remind them of their home across the seas.

¹ Probably the evolution of Arichat from Nericka came about in the same way as Anticosti was developed from the original Indian names of Naticousta or Naticotic, which was corrupted in one of Champlain's maps to Antiscoty, and eventually to Anticosti. This would seem to be so from the fact that in French maps of 1750 and 1779 the harbour is called Nérichac and Nérichat; the transformation to Arichat is easy. As to Anticosti, see Ganong on the “Cartography of the St. Lawrence,” ‘Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.,’ vii, sec. 2, art. 2, App. I.

² M. Faucher de Saint Maurice, in “Sept. Jours dans les Provinces Maritimes,” states that in 1886 the barque Moselle wintered at Charlottetown. Her watch bell wore the date of 1674 and the following inscription: Franco Nicolas Sol de Salvador Lorenzo. On each side there was a cross. In 1878 this bell was found among the ruins of Louisbourg by the captain of the barque. No doubt it belonged to a vessel from the Spanish islands that traded with Louisbourg.

" Bell of the past, whose now forgotten music
Once filled the wide expanse,
Tinging the sober twilight of the present
With colour of romance.

I hear you call and see the sun descending
On rocks and waves and sand,
As down the coast the mission voices blending,
Girdle the heathen land.

O solemn bell! whose consecrated masses
Recall the faith of old—
Oh tinkling bell! that lulled with twilight music
The spiritual fold.

Your voice now breaks—now falters in the darkness,
Breaks, falters, and is still,
And, valued and mystic, like the host descending,
The sun sinks from the hill."¹

Other places between Canseau and Gabarus Bay have retained their old French names without change. Fourché or Forked Bay, Framboise or Raspberry Cove, L'Ardoise or the Bay of Slate, and Petit Degrat, a famous "fishing place," in old times were all named for certain natural characteristics to which Pichon in his *Memoirs of Cape Breton* refers in detail. Flint Island, off Cow Bay (Morienné) is only the translation of *Ile à pierre à fusil*, as it is called on Bellin's and other French maps in allusion to the hardness of its rock.

On the northeastern coast of the island, to the south of Cape North, is a crescent shaped bay, with a fine beach of glittering sand barring the entrances of the barachois so common in this vicinity. It bears on the maps the name of Aspy Bay, but in Bellin's and other French maps of last century it was called either Havre Daspé or d'Achepé. Pichon refers to it by its present name, and tells us that the country around it was not inhabited and "hardly at all frequented." Its name is another of those questions which give an opportunity for much speculation. Some may claim that it is a memorial of Basque sailors who named the hilly country—perhaps the mountainous cape of Cape North itself, which forms the northern boundary of the bay—from some fancied resemblance to the *Pic d'Aspé*, among the Pyrenees, in a country well known to the people of the Basque districts of Spain and France. Others may claim that the other name D'Achepé, given by Bellin, is a Micmac term; perhaps it is the *Apégé*, the name given by L'Escarbot for the codfish.² The harsh Indian name might easily be softened in the course of time to *Aspé* by the French, just as *Gaspé* is believed to represent a contraction of the Abenaki word, *Katsepi8i*, meaning a separation from the other land³—a reference to the great rock which was severed from the cape in the course of centuries, and was long conspicuous above the waters, until at last it was worn away by the action of the ever restless ocean, and finally hoisted from its place and hurled amid the waves.⁴

X. THE FRENCH ACADIANS,—THEIR CONDITION AND PROSPECTS.

But it is not only in the name of some headland or river or bay that we find memorials of the old French *régime* on Cape Breton. Though Louisbourg is a grassy mound and St. Anne, Toulouse and Inganiche are no longer known by their royal titles, still, on the

¹ Slightly changed from Bret Harte's "Bells of the Angelus."

² See App. V to this work.

³ See a note to Abbé Laverdière's edition of Champlain's works, vol. i, p. 68. The Abbé J. A. Maurault is given as the authority for this version of the name given to Le Forillon, the rock in question. L'Escarbot calls it "Gachepe," (i. 270) following Champlain. For other meanings of the word see Ganong's article in 'Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., vol. vii (1889), sec. 2, art. on Cartography to Champlain, p. 53.

⁴ See Faucher de Saint Maurice, "De Tribord à Babord" (Montreal, 1877), 399-402.

storm-swept coast, in many a landlocked harbour and sequestered bay, or by the side of some lonely river linger a large and thriving body of the people who once owned Acadie and Ile Royale. War and its miseries, the animosity of the English government, the trials and privations of a pioneer life and all the difficulties of a rigorous climate combined for years to drive the French Acadians from Cape Breton and leave it entirely to the English settlers, but despite all the unfavourable circumstances that have surrounded them they continue to increase in numbers and have attained a considerable degree of prosperity. In the days when peace reigned and the people were able to follow their industry and commerce with some vigour, the total population of Ile Royale was estimated at between three and four thousand souls, men, women and children,—the greater proportion of whom lived at Louisbourg. When the fortress fell, the garrison and the French and the people of the island for the most part were removed to France there still remained on Ile Madame, on the Bras d'Or, on the northwestern coast, and in some remote parts of the island a few people who were left undisturbed in their humble settlements, probably forgotten or, if remembered at all, not considered dangerous to English dominion on the island. It is impossible to give the exact figures, but it is estimated by competent authorities on the subject that at the time of the deportation of the French from Louisbourg at least 700 were left undisturbed in other parts of the island.¹ Here they lived uneventful lives, for years, "the world forgetting; by the world forgot." It does not appear that the Acadian people of Nova Scotia before or after their cruel expatriation in 1755 ever gave any large accessions to the inhabitants of the island. The French government could not induce any number of them to come to Cape Breton, as it may be seen by the complaints from time to time of the officials in the island.² The population of Louisbourg was almost entirely composed of people from old France, and the only Acadians were a few persons employed for the most part as servants in families. The Acadians were found chiefly on the northwestern coast and in some sequestered spot by the Bras d'Or. Of the remnant of French population that remained in Cape Breton after 1758, however, the Acadians formed a large proportion, so far as I can judge from the meagre facts available. For some years after 1758 this little population remained without any additions to their number worth mentioning. In 1766 a considerable number of Acadians who had gone to the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon a year or two before became dissatisfied with the dreary prospect in those barren spots, and settled principally on Ile Madame and by the little Bras d'Or. The total number of this immigration however did not reach 400 souls—300, in fact, is the number generally given. In 1775 a few Acadian families—14 or 15 in all—came over from the mainland of Nova Scotia and settled in the vicinity of Cheticamp on the rugged northwestern coast of the island. Already there were some French families at Port Hood, which was formerly known as Just-au-Corps, where the quarrying of stone for building was still carried on as in former times of French occupation. Dribblets of population flowed in from year to year from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island where the English government appear always to have

¹ See App. XIV at end of this work, where statistical details of the development of the Acadian population in Cape Breton since 1758 are given, with references to works on the subject.

² See "Can. Archives" for 1887, cclxxxvi. It appears that the British government after their occupation of Acadie refused to permit the Acadian French to remove to Cape Breton and "strengthen our enemies when occasion serves." See Akins, 'Nova Scotia Archives,' 6-9, 41, etc.

encouraged the expatriation of the French when the island became an English possession. So slow, however, was the progress of this class that in 1801 it is said that the total population of Ile Madame and of the northwest shore—exclusively French then—did not reach 1700 souls.¹ This count, however, does not include probably all the little settlements on the Bras d'Or or on the Marguérite river, where a population was gradually attracted by the good lands and the fine salmon fishery. No doubt for the first decade of the present century a few families came over to the Ile Madame and the northwest country, but at no time from 1758 to 1810 was there any noteworthy migration to any part of the island except what I have already mentioned. It is safe to say that the fourteen thousand or more French Acadians who now inhabit the island of Cape Breton are the descendants of the 700 old French and Acadians who remained in 1758 and of the one hundred families or so—certainly not more than one hundred families all told—that came into the island from 1758 to 1810. Always a prolific race, like the French Canadians, they increased largely, and their numbers would now probably be much greater were it not that in the course of time their young men and women sought occupation in the New England states—the former as sailors and the latter as servants or operatives in the mills. Still despite the drain on this population—probably less than in the case of Scotch and English inhabitants of some parts of the island—they show a slight increase from decade to decade in the two counties of Richmond and Inverness where they have been most numerous since the days of French occupation. I am informed by the authorities I have consulted in different parts of the island,² where the French Acadians still live, that in the county of Cape Breton, where Louisbourg is situated and the only district retaining the old French name, they are a very insignificant and apparently decreasing remnant. Louisbourg is deserted by its old possessors, and it is only in the pretty sequestered settlement of French Vale, at the head of a creek emptying into one of the branches of Sydney harbour, and in the charming country, through which the arm known as the little Bras d'Or connects the ocean with the great lake of that name, that we now find the descendants of the families who first made their homes in those picturesque and fertile districts many years ago. French Vale was settled by four brothers from Prince Edward Island in the beginning of this century, and the little Bras d'Or chiefly by Acadian emigrants from St. Pierre and Miquelon. With these came a number of old French people who left France at the time of the French revolution and had none of the characteristics of the Acadian French. Some years ago a few families came from the river Bourgeois in the county of Richmond and joined their countrymen on the Little Bras d'Or. French Vale at one time was a flourishing agricultural settlement, and its Acadian population lived happy, contented lives, but soon the younger people became discontented and while the young men sought employment in the coal mines, the girls went to the United States. The result is that the lands once tilled by the French Acadians are now for the greater part in the hands of Gaelic-speaking people. The Acadians are in Cape Breton undergoing that transformation which must be expected in the case of a very small number of people situ-

¹ See Brown ("Hist. of C. B.," 421,) which cites the statement of population sent to the English authorities by General Despard, while lieutenant-governor.

² I must here express my thanks especially to the Reverend Fathers Quinanof Sydney and of Arichat for the information they have given me respecting the French Acadians of Cape Breton and Richmond counties.

ated in the midst of a race speaking an alien tongue. The minority must sooner or later from the necessity of things speak the language and follow the customs of the majority. English is now the prevalent tongue everywhere, save in a few Acadian families where a patois of English and French is still spoken. Even the old French names are disappearing, and LeBlanc is now known as White, Le Jeune is Young, and Roy is King. All of them, however, appear to cling with tenacity to their old faith, though, as a venerable and well beloved priest of Cape Breton writes me significantly, "in a few years there will not be a trace of French about them but their ill-pronounced and imperfectly understood prayers."

It is in the southern and western counties of Richmond and Inverness that we find the largest, most prosperous and best examples of the French Acadian race, for we may leave out of the account altogether the few families that still claim a French descent on the northern and eastern shores of the now purely Scotch county of Victoria, where on the hills of Ports Dauphin, and Orleans once floated the lilies of France. Ile Madame and the adjacent coast of Cape Breton, were always from the earliest times of historical record a favourite home of the French. Its many bays, harbours and inlets, are well sheltered from the tumult of ocean and the storms that rage so often on the coast, and are relatively free from the dangers and inconvenience of the great masses of ice that come down the gulf between Cape North and Cape Ray in the springtime, and often choke up the eastern and southeastern ports and bays. Here the facilities for carrying on the fisheries, and engaging in the coasting trade have built up a large and industrious class of population.

It was on Ile Madame that enterprising merchants of Jersey¹ in the English channel, had for many years establishments for carrying on the fisheries. Nicholas Denys has had many successors since his time, and his countrymen have found a rich harvest in the waters that surround the island. Arichat was once the most important commercial town in the island, but nowadays it has sunk into relative insignificance with the disappearance of the old fishing-houses, and the growth of the outlying settlements. The adjoining village of West Arichat or Acadiaville, had already outstripped it in importance, when it too suffered from the fact that of late years the coal and coasting trade, for a long while a source of lucrative employment to the people, has been for the most part transferred from sailing vessels to steamers.

In the county of Richmond there are five Acadian parishes of importance; Arichat, West Arichat, or Acadiaville, and Descousse are on Ile Madame, and L'Ardoise and River Bourgeois on the mainland. A small settlement also exists on the west side of the basin of the River Inhabitants. Counting these parishes and other places of minor importance

¹ The old Jersey houses of Janvrin, DeCarteret, and Hubert that did a large business in the fisheries, giving constant employment to the Acadian French, have disappeared, and the only signs of their existence are dilapidated warehouses and worm-eaten wharves. The old house of P. C. Robin & Co., which was established over a century ago, may be regarded as the legitimate successor of Denys, since it does business still not only on Cape Breton, but in different parts of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Their first establishment was erected in 1765, on Jersey Island, at the south entrance of Arichat harbour. They did business there for some years when their premises were burned by Paul Jones while cruising in the gulf, and destroying English property. Shortly after this occurrence they built on the south side of Arichat harbour where they still continue doing a large fish trade. One of the stores built in 1797 is still in a good state of preservation. I am indebted for the facts in this note to Mr. E. P. Flynn, formerly M. P., for Richmond.

there are probably eight thousand persons of French and French Acadian descent in Richmond. Descousse is now the most thriving settlement, and is outstripping Arichat and Acadiaville in essential respects, chiefly owing to the fact that the people own a fine fishing fleet which prosecutes the fisheries in the North Bay and elsewhere with enterprise and success. The shore fisheries, heretofore carried on in boats, have of late years become relatively insignificant, and this accounts for the prosperity of a place like Descousse which has shown enterprise in seeking fresh "sea pastures." Fishing and sailing are the chief occupations of the majority of the men though there are few families who do not own their little farms or plots of ground which they cultivate. Their villages are neatly whitewashed, and have generally a thrifty appearance. As a rule according to one who has long lived among them and from my own individual observation, they are plain and simple in their habits. In this corner of the continent, remote from the great centres of industry and activity, "they know little of the wants of the great world outside, and consequently are content to live on in their frugal, simple way, not desiring, because knowing nothing of the luxuries which are considered necessities by the wealthy and even the well-to-do classes elsewhere." Their dress is still very plain in the small settlements and villages, though new fashions have begun to creep in among the young women, who visit the towns of the provinces or of the United States. In places like Arichat, where they live alongside the English-speaking people, there is little left by which they are distinguished in dress from the people of other nationalities. In many cases, elsewhere, they adhere to the primitive attire of their ancestors, the traditional Norman kirtle which has many attractions on a pretty young girl, with a well formed figure. In their domestic life they have retained a good deal of the original simplicity of the Acadian French of old times. French is, of course, essentially the language of the home. They go to bed early and are noted for their habits of early rising. "I may say," writes the reverend gentleman to whom I am indebted for much information on this subject, "that when going or returning from a sick call about day-break I can distinguish at a distance the Acadian houses by the smoke curling skyward while in all probability not a sign of life is visible in the homes of their English neighbours." While the men pursue their vocations as fishermen or sailors — in the coasting or foreign trade — the women contribute by their industry their full share to the support of their families. They plant and sow, tend cattle, shear the sheep, spin and weave. In many families nothing is worn which is not the product of their own looms. As in all other classes, there are shiftless and improvident persons among them, but "on the whole they may be said to belong to that middle, and let me say, happy class, which, without knowing want, have little to spare of this world's goods, but are nevertheless content with their lot." All of them, it is hardly necessary to add, have adhered loyally to the Roman Catholic church, and "rationalism" is a word unknown in their simple vocabulary.

Then we come to the adjacent county of Inverness which stretches from about the middle of Canso Strait to the heights that end with Cape St. Lawrence, and includes the westerly section of the great northern division of the island, so remarkable for its mountains, and rugged scenery. It is a county presenting few harbours of value compared with those in Richmond and Cape Breton.

Port Hawkesbury in the Strait of Canso has now become a more important place than

Arichat, and second only to the Sydneys as a port. The county, however, has fine stretches of meadow lands, and on the grassy slopes of its uplands and hills there are great facilities for grazing and the rearing of fine cattle. The Mabou and Margaree, (Margu  rite) in their courses run through a beautiful country, which has not only a charm for the tourist "seeking fresh woods and pastures new," but shows to the practical eyes of the agriculturist that energy and good farming could here reap rich results. As I have already said it is on the fine farming lands of the Margaree that descendants of the French Acadians have had their homes for a century and more.

Between Margaree and Cheticamp there is a considerable population of the same class, while in the latter district we meet with probably the best types of the Acadians, with all their simple primitive ways, entirely free from the influences of the large Gaelic population that elsewhere, as in Cape Breton and Victoria counties, and even on the Margaree, has intermingled with the Acadians and changed their habits and methods of life in many respects. The total French Acadian population of the county is probably between four or five thousand souls, and the number is not likely to decrease for the same reason as in Richmond.

Indeed, the emigration of this people even from the rugged hills of Cheticamp appears rather on the decrease compared with what it was thirty years ago. Since then there has been a decided improvement in the condition of the people. While many of them cling to their primitive habits, they display much more enterprise and energy than their ancestors. As in Richmond the majority adhere to the French language, especially in the Cheticamp district, though wherever they are in the neighborhood of large English settlements they speak English with facility. Fishing and farming are the principal occupations of the people as heretofore, but as one well-informed person writes, "while thirty years ago not a single individual among them was engaged in trade, now they take a share in all the active pursuits of life, with energy, intelligence and enterprise, and are no longer the apparently subdued, timid people they were for many years after the possession of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia by England."

Inquiring into the intellectual position of this class in Cape Breton I find that they are in this respect considered somewhat inferior to other nationalities. Though it is shown they are displaying much more energy and activity in the various industrial occupations of life, yet they seem in the majority of places to lag behind the English-speaking members of the community from an educational point of view. One reverend gentleman to whom I am so much indebted for information of the condition of this people in Richmond, accounts for their educational deficiencies by the fact, that in forming the public school law of Nova Scotia, "the legislature gave little or no recognition to the existence of this important element of the population, and the consequence is that the young Acadian children have to acquire knowledge in the public schools through the agency of an unknown tongue." They must begin their elementary education, it seems, "by one of the most difficult of all tasks, the acquisition of an alien tongue, and then with an imperfect knowledge of that language they must proceed to acquire through its medium an acquaintance with all the branches which form a course of education in the public schools." In other words, English is the only recognized language of the public schools, and the Acadians are necessarily subject to a great disadvantage compared with the English

children who commence their education at the same time.¹ Of course the well-to-do people, of whom there are only a very insignificant number in Cape Breton, may send their children to special institutions where they can pursue their studies with every facility ; but the reference here is entirely to the public schools, to which the French Acadians as a class can alone have access. The character of the French spoken by the Acadians depends, in a large measure, upon the locality and their surroundings. Where they are left to themselves they naturally speak better French, that is to say with less admixture of the English than where they are in constant intercourse with other nationalities who use Gaelic or English. They speak it "ungrammatically of course, but still it is pure French, and not a mere *patois*, though some of the words in use amongst them are now obsolete in France as well as in the province of Quebec." As a rule they have no knowledge of grammar, and *j'avons, j'allons, j'irons, je serons*, and the like are familiar expressions on all sides. Still they perfectly understand their language in its grammatical forms and phrases. One gentleman who has had a good deal of experience among them "has no hesitation in saying that the uneducated Acadian speaks French just as well as the uneducated French Canadian habitant." Where these people live among the English, as in the town of Arichat, they mix common English words with their ordinary conversation. For instance, I have heard an Acadian lady say in my hearing while on a visit to Arichat : "Quand j'étais à l'exposition à Halifax j'étais 'on the go' tout le temps, de sorte que quand je suis revenue j'étais complètement 'done out.'" The better classes have in Arichat and West Arichat or Acadiaville, convents managed by the Sœurs of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame whose mother-house is in Montreal.² The sisters in both these institutions are accomplished French, or French Canadian women, and the young Acadian girls have consequently an excellent opportunity of acquiring a correct knowledge of the language of their origin. A number of young Acadian women, graduates of these convents, teach in different school sections of the country, and are in a position to impart a fairly correct knowledge of their own language to their pupils. But it must be admitted that, though the Arichat convent was founded some thirty-five years ago, and that at West Arichat nine years later, little improvement can be noticed in the speaking of French, owing mainly to the fact that when the girls go back to their homes, after having gone through their course of studies, they return, in the majority of cases, to the ordinary phraseology or vocabulary of their youth. The boys, however, have no special educational

¹ I quote the remaining portion of the remarks of my correspondent on this subject as it opens up an important question. "Admitting, therefore, that our Acadian children occupy a position of inferiority in our public schools, it is just such a position as our English-speaking children would be forced into if the case were reversed. Let us suppose, by way of illustration, that no separate school system existed in the province of Quebec, that French was the only language recognised in its public schools, and that the children of the English-speaking minority could pursue their studies only through the medium of that language, what position would they occupy? How would they stand in relation to the French Canadians? Precisely, I would answer, as the Acadians now stand in Cape Breton. Yet this would be no proof, in my opinion, that the English children were really inferior from an intellectual point of view, but rather go to show the effect of an unjust system which would place the two nationalities in the schools on unequal terms. If then the Acadians are not always found up to the mark in the public schools, the fault lies not altogether with them but largely with our system of education, and I venture to say that could they but pursue their studies in their mother tongue, they would soon give a far better account of their mental capacity."

² See sec. III.

facilities like those afforded the girls alone by the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame*. Male teachers holding provincial school licenses, and at the same time capable of teaching French, are not to be had except in a very few cases. Many parents are not at all anxious, it is said on the highest authority, that their boys should be taught French in the schools, as they find that a knowledge of English is under existing circumstances much more useful to them. All these facts with respect to educational facilities and the use of the French language go to show in a measure that English must sooner or later obtain the mastery except in a few remote and isolated settlements.

Of course this question of two distinct languages in a community has its difficulties if one wishes to arrive at a solution fair to all nationalities, and the legislator may reasonably hesitate to give extraordinary facilities to the perpetuation of race distinctions. A small minority must always expect sooner or later to be absorbed into the majority, unless it is given and guaranteed special rights and privileges which enable it to have a longer existence. The question arises, whether it is wise in the case of a minority like the French Acadians of Cape Breton — about one-sixth probably of the total population — to surround them with special safeguards for the preservation of a language alien from that of the great majority, and in that way interpose a powerful obstacle to the formation of one people, speaking the same language. The strength of the English people, it may be argued, arises from the gradual blending of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman French elements of the population. It may be said — and indeed it has been said — that it would have been wiser had England after the cession of Canada by the treaty of Paris in 1763 looked forward to an amalgamation of the English and French nationalities in that country instead of giving the French Canadian special guarantees for the preservation of his peculiar institutions. In other words, it may be asked, if it is not the wisest policy for governments to place all nationalities on an equality in every respect, and to let nature and circumstances guide and mould their future. For my part, however, I am inclined to think that Great Britain in a measure atoned for the expatriation of the Acadians from Nova Scotia when she gave the French Canadians in later times the privileges they now enjoy. The French Canadians, as a result of the generous concessions of England, have become a powerful and distinct element of Canadian political, social and intellectual life and the time when they will blend with the English has been indefinitely postponed. Things, however, seem different in Cape Breton.

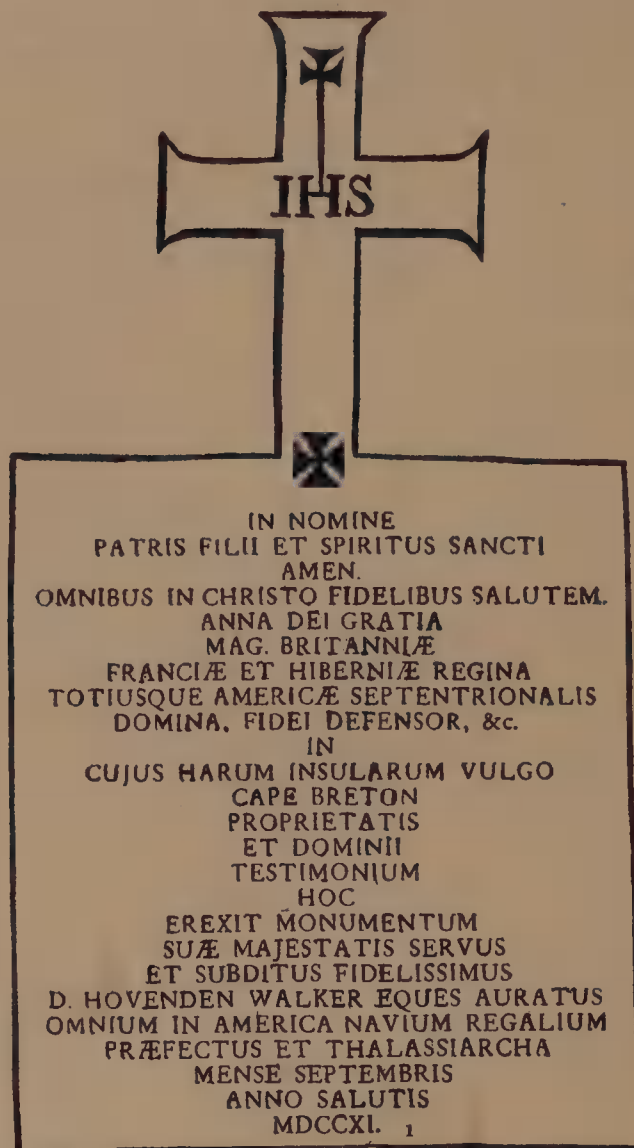
The Acadians where they are in a majority, as in Richmond, are likely to hold their own for very many years to come; but should a stream of English capital and population come into the island, their language and habits as a distinct race must gradually disappear whenever they become a small minority — as is the case now practically in the district of Cape Breton — and the English tongue must prevail. The isolation of this interesting people in this remote island has been heretofore their protection, but eventually there must be an end of this when a wave of the world's great enterprise comes to Cape Breton, and alters its material conditions in essential respects. Still, looking at the very considerable number of this people at this time, and their tendency to increase despite emigration, it is obvious that their absorption by the mass of the English and Scotch population must be very slow, and in the nature of things a century hence there will be probably small settlements like those at Cheticamp, still isolated from alien influences, which will recall the old days of Acadie and Ile Royale.

XI. A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE PORT AND RUINS OF LOUISBOURG.

I may appropriately close this sketch of an island, which in many ways merits the title of *Royale*, by describing some of the present characteristics of the harbour which once held the fortunes of France at the portals of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. We must start from Sydney, which is prettily situated on a peninsula well adapted for a fine city, and is the headquarters of a large coal trade—one of those old places where, among the modern improvements of towns nowadays, a few quaint one-storied houses, tumble down barracks, and worm-eaten wharves, show it has had a history of its own. Sydney has one of the safest and largest harbours of America, and has been from the earliest times in the history of Cape Breton the constant resort of vessels engaged in the fisheries or in the commerce of this continent. Its very spaciousness, however, prevented it being chosen as the site of the fortress which the French constructed in the first part of the eighteenth century. Its broad entrance, its easiness of approach from different directions by land and sea, and its freezing for some weeks in winter, were facts that left it out of the competition for the capital of Ile Royale. During the French *régime* it had an uneventful history. A few Frenchmen settled in its vicinity and engaged in fishing or farming in a small way, but at no time until the fall of Louisbourg, in 1758, did it engage the particular attention of the French government. St. Peter's, St. Anne, Inganiche and various places in Labrador were the places preferred by the French and the Acadians. One of the most noteworthy events in its early history was the fact that it was in this spacious haven that the Canadian Le Moyne d'Iberville, famous as the founder of Louisiana, and for his exploits on land and sea, obtained the aid of a large band of Micmacs, and then sailed for the Bay of Fundy and the coast of Maine, where he won a signal victory over a small fleet of English cruisers, and destroyed the fort of Pemaquid, one of the frontier defences of the New England settlements. Here, too, Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker anchored his fleet during the September of 1711 after the great loss he sustained while on the way to Quebec. It was here he came to the determination to sail to England without striking a blow for her honour and gain in America. No memorial of this unfortunate expedition remains on the shores of Spanish Bay. The following *facsimile* of the inscription which he affixed on a board among the forests, that in those times overhung the banks, would never have been known to us in these days had not he himself boastingly told us, in the memoirs of that ill-fated voyage that he has left behind, that he had in this way asserted the claim of England to Cape Breton.¹ Having distinguished himself by this

¹ "Being inform'd by several Officers who had been there, that a Cross was erected on the Shoar with the names of the *French* Sea Officers who had been here, which I look'd upon as a Claim of Right they pretend to for the King, their Master, the Island having been always in the times of Peace, used in Common, both by the *English* & *French*, for lading Coals, which are extraordinary good here, & taken out of the Clifts with Iron Crows only, & no other Labour; I thought it not amiss therefore to leave something of that Kind to declare the Queen's Right to this Place; Having a Board made by the *Carpenter*, & painted, I sent him ashoar to fix it upon a tree in some eminent place where it may most easily be seen." Ex. from Walker's "Journal," p. 150.

display of empty bravado he sailed away without even striking a blow at the relatively insignificant French port of Plaisance on the dreary shores of Newfoundland.



From time to time French corsairs found shelter in the sheltered nooks and creeks of this noble port, but we have no record of any event of moment that signalized its history after the departure of the greatest fleet that ever anchored in its waters. In 1781, before Sydney town was founded by DesBarres, a famous sailor, La Pérouse, who, like Cook, was to meet his death in later years, while on a voyage of discovery in the Pacific ocean, commanded one of two large French frigates that fought an engagement off the harbour with four English ships of inferior strength, which were convoying some transports to obtain a supply of coal for the use of the troops at Halifax. This affair was hotly contested for some hours, but it does not appear to have resulted in any decided advantage to either side.² La Pérouse is but one of the many great sailors like Dundonald, La Roncière le

¹ In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Amen. Greeting: to all Christ's faithful subjects, Anna by the Grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, of these islands commonly called Cape Breton, Proprietor and Sovereign. In testimony of which this monument has been erected by Her Majesty's most faithful Servant, D. Hovenden Walker, Knight, Commander in Chief and Admiral of all her Royal Navies in America. This month of September in the year of our Lord MDCCXI.

² See Brown, "History of Cape Breton" (382-384), who cites the French and English accounts of the fight.

Noury, Cloué and others less distinguished, who have visited Spanish Bay in later times and admired its commercial capabilities and its picturesque features. The history of Sydney, after it became the capital, was for years the history of Cape Breton. Here DesBarres fought his battles with the officials and the commander of the garrison, that occupied for many years the barracks, of which a few ruined buildings still remain on the northern end of the peninsula on which the town is built. Here and there one-storied, low-eaved houses, often buried in the heavy snowfalls of winter, tell of the humble little town where men fretted and fumed with all the importance of officials, or toiled to make a living in that distant outpost of England's empire. The town has had a sluggish growth during its century of existence, and it is only within a few years, with the development of the coal mines in the vicinity, that it has thrown off the apathy of the past and taken a place among the active mercantile communities of Nova Scotia. Now that this old place, situated on a peninsula admirably adapted for a large town, has direct railway connection with the rest of the continent, it sees before itself a future which it could never have had whilst it was practically isolated from the rest of the continent except by sea. At last Sydney, from the Atlantic shore, can, in a metaphorical sense, clasp hands with its prosperous sister town, amid its environment of mountains on the fair Pacific coast. It has an energetic competitor in North Sydney, some six miles lower down the harbour, not far from the entrance of the port, where the old mining association of Cape Breton has long done a large business, and near which the first English historian of the island lived for many years in a pleasant home, now showing the signs of age, but still charming for its flowers and shrubberies and its vista of the great sea beyond the cliffs. In the summer days the harbour of Sydney is visited by vessels of the French fleet¹ that protect the fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland, and the descendants of the Basque, Breton and Norman adventurers of old still drag up the riches of the sea on the Grand Banks where the codfish appear as prolific, as in the days when those sailors first explored the unknown waters of eastern America. By the irony of fate, the only remains of French dominion now in the gulf of St. Lawrence are the insignificant islands of St. Pierre, Miquelon and Langley, off the southern coast of the great island, to which the names of Baccalaos, Terre Neuve, Avalon and Newfoundland have clung from the days of Cabot and Cortereal to the present. Louisbourg is in ruins, and the French flag is no longer seen in that lonely port, but floats only from the mastheads of ships of France in the very harbour which they neglected in the days when her king was master on his royal island.

After leaving the old town of Sydney we have to travel for a distance of at least twenty-four miles over a fairly good road which offers no particular attractions except for a few minutes when we cross the Mira river, a noble stream which broadens, some miles from its mouth, into a long expansive lake surrounded by well-wooded hills, and is justly named Grand Mira by the people. Glimpses of Catalogne Lake and of the great ocean away beyond to the eastward help to relieve the monotony of a rugged landscape.

¹ Until a few years ago the French flag floated from a tall staff on a grass plot near the water's edge in front of a large white house, with wide generous verandah and green shrubberies, which was and is still one of the conspicuous features of the harbour side of the town. Within a stone's throw of this old mansion—whose framework is now nearly a century old—have anchored the vessels of the Newfoundland squadron for forty years and more, and in its quaint, low rooms, fitted with mementos of French sailors, of many eminent men known in the naval history and in the official records of France, like Cloué and La Roncière Le Noury, have partaken of the hospitalities of the kindly owner, the late Senator Bourinot, long a vice-consul of France.

We pass a number of not too well cultivated farms, each with its little homestead of logs or sawn lumber, chiefly occupied by Scotch settlers. Gradually we can smell the fresh salt air, that tells us of our nearness to the sea, and suddenly emerging from a desolate looking country, covered with small spruce, or with stumps and rocks where there happens to be a little clearing, we find ourselves on the hills which overlook the harbour, which stretches before us from northeast to southwest. If the day be foggy and dull — and there is a prevalence of such weather on that southeast coast of Cape Breton — the feeling that comes to the visitor is one of intense loneliness as he surveys the scattered houses, the almost deserted port, the absence of any commercial activity, and the wide expanse of ocean stretching away to the eastern horizon. This feeling is naturally intensified by memories of the very different scenes that were witnessed on the same harbour in the middle of last century. It is by such contrasts between the past and the present that a place like Louisbourg makes the most impression on the mind. A large bustling city would cause us almost to forget the historic days of old, and could not have the charm of the lonely aspect that the site of the once famous town now wears.

This harbour, so full of memories, possesses natural characteristics which are peculiar to itself and after a while bring with them a feeling of rest and isolation from the great world which frets and fumes away beyond it, and has brought none of its activity to its now relatively deserted shore. It is a striking feature of Louisbourg as of the coast generally of Cape Breton, that the landscape ever and anon assumes a sad aspect, arising from the misty clouds that at certain seasons obscure the sun, and give darker shadows to the gloomy spruce that fringes the shores of the island. A similar feeling of sadness passes over the spirit when we contemplate the great prairies of the northwest, which, by their wide expanse and fitful shadows, recall the great sea that beats against the rock-bound coast of Cape Breton. Louisbourg is, indeed, a place to see Nature in its varied aspects. The very atmospheric changes, so sudden at times, somehow seem adapted to the varying moods of life. One day is all bright and the waters of the port sparkle in the sunshine, the gulls and seabirds take lofty flights in the pure atmosphere, the patches of stunted spruce assume a deeper green, and the lights and shadows play above the ruined ramparts of the old town to which the eye ever turns in remembrance of the past. Then in a moment the wind veers round and as we look to the southeast we can just see above the horizon a low bank of grey shadow which moves forward, and soon enshrouds the islands at the entrance, and the lighthouse on its rocky height in a cloud of mist, which increases steadily in volume until at last the point of land on which the old fortress once stood is no longer visible to the eye. Then, a few hours later, the wind changes once more and a cool breeze comes from the northwest, and the fog is driven out to sea again, and the harbour is revealed in all its solitary beauty. Or perhaps the wind rises to a storm, and then the waves dash with fierce velocity on the rocks and islets that bar the ocean from the ports, which, despite the tempest outside, seems remarkably unruffled, and affords a safe anchorage to the boats and vessels that are now its sole occupants instead of the great fleets of stately ships that once whitened its waters in the days of old.

Let us walk around this harbour on a bright day when the fog, for once, has found its way beneath the horizon, and take a brief survey of the natural features of this curious landscape, and of the memorials that still remain of the old régime. The Lighthouse Point, or rocky promontory that forms the northeastern entrance, is the terminus of a great mass of rocks, where the inevitable spruce has obtained a foothold, and the

varied flora of this northern region bloom amid the crevices or on the swampy ground which is a prevalent feature of the country. The beach is one great collection of rocky debris which seems to have been thrown up by some giant effort of nature, and it requires no slight effort to find one's way amid these masses of rock piled on rock, worn smooth as marble, by the unceasing action of the waves, and covered at their base with great bunches of entangled seaweed and shells which glisten like so many necklets of amber beneath the sunlight as it peers into the little pools that have been left by the tide when it has receded to the bosom of mother-ocean. Some few paces eastward of the lighthouse, a mound or two of turf represents the battery which in Wolfe's time did so much execution on the works at Goat Island, which is about a third of a mile distant in a southerly direction,—a mass of rock and earth, where old cannon balls and pieces of artillery are now and then turned up by the waves as they roll during the equinoctial gales on its rugged shores. On these islands that guard the port seabirds without number still build their nests, and at certain seasons of the year, when the visitor lands among the rocks, they rise by myriads into the sky and hover like a great cloud above the islets. The lighthouse, a tall wooden building with a fixed light, stands securely on a pinnacle of rock,—a dreary home in the storms of autumn and winter, and the fogs of spring. A dark grey tower of stone would better harmonize with the dull colours of sky and ocean that generally prevail in this sad country than the white structure from which the signal is flashed to the passing ship. More than a century and a half has passed away since the French built the first lighthouse on the same spot, and with the exception of a year or so when the lantern was destroyed by fire a light has burned unremittingly among the rocks of this prominent point of Cape Breton.¹ From here sometimes—but rarely at this point however—in early spring one can see the vast fields of ice, stretching as far as the eye can see, blockading all approaches to the port as in the days when Pepperrell's little expedition lay anchored at Canseau. But the westerly winds soon scatter these ice-floes, and send them to melt in the warm current of the gulf stream, and the keeper from his lantern tower looks once more on the wide expanse of ocean, with all its varied moods in that uncertain region where storm and sunshine are ever fighting for the mastery. A short distance from the lighthouse there is a white modern cottage, a pleasant summer home, whose green lawn slopes to the edge of a little pond guarded from the encroachments of the ocean by a causeway of stone. Here is a vista of land and sea of rare attraction for the wearied resident of the town,—solitude and historic memories, the sea in all its grandeur,—no one can ask more in the summer days.

Following the sinuosities of the harbour we come to where once stood the careening wharf of the French, and here, when the writer last saw the place, was a high and long pier for loading vessels with the coal brought some twelve miles from the mines by a narrow guage railway. In this neighbourhood when the railway was built there was to be a new town of Louisbourg and a large coal business was to be prosecuted in summer and winter, but the pier has fallen into decay—it is probably removed by this time—the railway has been derailed in places, the wooden trestle work over Catalogne Lake has rotted away, and Louisbourg has again been deserted for the town of Sydney. The road

¹ I find the following notes by M. Marmette in the "Canadian Archives," (1887, cccxv, cccxxi, cccxxiii):—"The lighthouse lantern was kindled on the first of April (1734). It was perfectly visible for six leagues out to sea * * Nov. 10, 1736. The lantern of the lighthouse has been burned, and they have to rebuild it * * Oct. 30, 1737. Rebuilding of the lighthouse."

round this rugged promontory runs through great rents blasted in the rocks, and nears at times the very verge of the precipices. At intervals are fishing stages and mouldering warehouses recalling old times of large business activity. We pass by the little north-east harbour which forms so safe a haven for the trading schooners and fishing boats that are always moored here as in the old times. As we walk down the west side towards the site of the French town we notice that the land ascends gently from the very edge of the harbour and forms a pleasant site for the present village of Louisbourg, a collection of thirty or more whitewashed or painted houses, a canning factory,¹ and two or three churches.² Some shops stand by the roadside or in the vicinity of the wharves, where there are generally fish drying on flakes. Some meadows, covered with a spare crop of grass, or late vegetables, represent the agricultural enterprise that is possible on a thin soil, which receives little encouragement in this changeable atmosphere of fog and rain, in this country where the spring is a delusion and the summer too often a mockery since it is so short, though in July and August there are days whose cool soft temperature is most delicious. The old ruins of the grand, or royal battery, about midway on the west side are quite visible and as we survey them, map in hand, it is easy enough with a little patience and an effort of the imagination to trace the lines of the works. Here, however, as elsewhere, we can pay our tribute to the thoroughness with which the English sappers and miners, one hundred and thirty years since, obeyed their instructions to destroy the old fortifications, and leave not one stone on another lest they might at one time be found serviceable by an enemy. Just before coming to the barachois, so often mentioned in the accounts of the two sieges, we see before us a large wooden chapel with a prominent steeple — the most pretentious ecclesiastical building in the place — and the cross that points to heaven is so much evidence that Rome claims her votaries in her old domain, and that the hatchets of the Puritan iconoclasts of Pepperrell's time were of little avail after all, but that her doctrines still flourish in the island of Cape Breton. We cross the barachois by a rude bridge and follow the road along the beach for a quarter of a mile, or so, and come to a collection of fish stages and wharves made of poles laid on logs, and all redolent of the staple industry of Louisbourg. Then we turn up a hill, and soon find ourselves on the grass-covered mounds of the old town. If we take a position on the site of the king's bastion, the most prominent point of the ruins, we see to the southwest the waters of the spacious bay of Gabarus. Immediately below us are the remains of the casemates³ where the women and children found a refuge during the last siege. Looking at the three that remain, it is easy to see that any number of persons must have been huddled together in a very pitiable fashion. Sheep now find shelter within these rudely constructed retreats. All around them in summer time there are patches of red clover, mingling its fragrance with the salt sea breeze, and reminding us how often this grass grows rank and rich in old graveyards, as it were to show how nature survives the memorials of man's ambition and pride. The low rugged country that stretches for a league and more to Gabarus presents all the natural features of rock and swamp, with patches of the alders and the stunted fir, that seem to flourish best on this poor bleak coast. It is quite

¹ This modern enterprise was managed for some time—perhaps is still — by a man from Maine; so Pepperrell's state still claims a place after this prosaic fashion in the old port which he won for England.

² See illustration of the modern village of Louisbourg, from an excellent picture by ■ Sydney photographer, Mr. Umlah.

³ See illustrations at end of this work.

easy to follow the contour of the fortifications until they come to the old burying grounds near Rochefort and Black Points, where hundreds of New Englanders and of French and English soldiers found their last resting place in 1745 and 1758. No tombstone or cairn or cross has been raised; the ground has never been blessed by priest; the names of the dead are all forgotten; Frenchmen, Englishmen and Colonists, Catholics and Puritans, now sleep in close vicinity to each other, regardless of the wars of creeds, beneath the green sward which the sheep nibble with all the avidity of their kind.¹

The deep ditch near the king's bastion is still full of water, and the stumps of the picket palisades which were raised in 1745 between the Princess's and the Brouillon bastions are visible in places. We can see too in the water the remains of the bridge which stretched across the shallow pond between the Maurepas and Grève batteries. The places of the numerous stages for drying fish in old times on the harbour front can still be traced with a little trouble on the shore at low tide. On the site of the town there are piles of brick and stone which have been dug up by the present inhabitants when they require materials for building. Many of the chimneys in the humble cabins of the fishermen are built of brick from France or perhaps from New England. Cannon balls and bomb-shells are frequently found at low tide on the shores, and more than once old cannon have been dug up in the sand and mud. It is rarely however, that any relics of interest or value are now discovered at Louisbourg. Delving in the debris of an old foundation, probably that of the hospital, the writer once found some pieces of tarnished gold lace which may have belonged to an officer wounded in the last siege. But such a treasure as was found at Loran—to give the place its now familiar name—has, never to my knowledge, been turned up among the ashes of the old town. All articles of value were taken away by the people, if indeed there were ever many in a place which relatively few persons regarded as a permanent home.

Those who have ever paid a visit, of late years, to the city of Cambridge, in Massachusetts, and lingered for a while under the noble elms that shade its wide streets, and cluster around the buildings of Harvard, may have noticed a small gilt cross above one of the entrances to Gore Hall, where the great New England university has housed its principal library. One must, at first, wonder why this religious symbol, only found as a rule on Roman Catholic buildings, or Anglican churches of an extreme type, should adorn the doorway of a seat of learning, in once Puritan New England. On inquiry we find it is a historic link which connects the old Bay State with the distant and almost forgotten port on the windy eastern coast of Cape Breton. Nearly a century and a half has passed since this simple cross was taken from its place on a Louisbourg church, probably by one of the soldiers of Pepperrell's expedition at the command of one of the Puritan clergymen who regarded it as a symbol of idolatry. It was carried to New England and forgotten among other relics until an enthusiastic and scholarly historian brought it to light and gave it



¹ Mr. Faucher de Saint-Maurice, F. R. S. C., has written a little book, with the title "Sept jours dans les Provinces Maritimes," (Quebec, 1888), of which thirty pages are devoted to a bright description of St. Peter's, the Bras d'Or, Baddeck, Sydney, and Louisbourg. He mentions a fact not generally known, that the English had their cemetery on Point Rochefort and the French theirs in the immediate vicinity, but nearer Black Point. It was in this latter place the English Catholics were also buried. The graves of the New Englanders who died of disease in 1745-6 took up most of the space at Point Rochefort.

the prominent position it now occupies at Harvard. Here we have undoubtedly clear evidence of the extreme liberality of these days that would make old father Moody lift his voice in stern rebuke of the degeneration of his countrymen, were he permitted by a higher power, to return to the land where he once denounced the Roman Catholic religion with so much bitterness of tongue. But now-a-days in the very state where Governor Endicott cut the red cross from the English flag, the same symbol not only invites the people to numerous churches but seems to offer a benison to the youth of New England who pass beneath the portals of Harvard's spacious library.¹

For many years after the destruction of the famous fortifications, and before the relentless action of the ocean had buried deep beneath the sand the remains of the vessels sunk by Chevalier Drucour at the entrance of the port during the second siege, the fishermen of Louisbourg often alleged they could see the cannon of the ships lying among the rocks and seaweed as their little craft lay becalmed when the wind went down and the waters presented an unruffled surface which revealed their secrets many fathoms below. But such stories now are no longer heard in the old port, and the most imaginative eye can-



not penetrate the depths of the waters where gallant ships were sacrificed in a vain hope to prevent the entrance of the great English fleet that blockaded the port. Cannon balls and bomb-shells are at times tossed up by the sea from the sands and rocks where they have been embedded for years, but it is rarely now that cannon are found. Nearly fifty years ago there was one interesting "treasure trove" in the form of an old gun, which is clearly a memorial of several centuries ago. The hooped cannon,² of which I give a sketch on this page, was dug up in the mud of the western shore of the harbour, nearly half a mile to the west of the ruins of the Grand Battery.³ A distinguished Nova Scotian archæ-

¹ In a letter to the author, Dr. Justin Winsor, the librarian of Harvard, says: "The story is that the iron cross above the door of our library was brought back to Massachusetts after the siege of Louisbourg (1745) by the returned troops. When I found it in 1877 in the cellar of the library, it had a label on it to that effect. I then placed it above the door, and had it gilded. It is supposed to have been on the Catholic chapel in Louisbourg [in the citadel or hospital church?]. I say this much and give a cut of it in vol. ii. of 'Mem. Hist. of Boston' " (frontispiece).

² See *supra*, sec. VI, for an account of a similar gun found at St. Peter's, C.B.

³ The exact place where this gun was found can be seen by looking at the plan of the city and harbour of Louisbourg at end of this work. It was on the shore immediately in front of the little pond which is seen marked midway between the grand battery and the barachois, where Hales's Regiment is marked.

ologist has thought this memorial worthy of an elaborate paper,¹ in which he indulges in a good deal of interesting speculation as to its original ownership. Its workmanship shows it to have been one of those forged pieces of ordnance common in the early part of the sixteenth century, and not unfrequently used until, and perhaps even after, the beginning of the seventeenth century, when cast metal guns came generally into use. The gun in question is made of bars of malleable iron, encircled by ten rings or hoops in accordance with the fashion of those early times. It has a length of about five feet, and a diameter varying from four inches at the muzzle to nine inches at the shoulder, behind which is a chamber for the reception of a breech block, which was kept in its place by iron bolts, and was placed in or taken out of its chamber by either a leather or iron handle at the top. The gun otherwise is in excellent preservation, despite the corroding rust that has eaten into the iron that was forged by a cunning gunsmith centuries ago in some foundry across the seas. In speculating on the history of this ancient weapon, one soon finds himself launched upon a sea of doubt. Now it is a Portuguese vessel that in the early times of maritime adventure in eastern American waters carried this gun. Again it belonged to an English ship, the *Delight*, the "Amiral" of the little fleet of three vessels in which the gallant Englishman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, sought to win honour and territory for his country in those times when England was at last entering on that field of maritime adventure which was to give her in the course of centuries the greatest colonial empire the world has ever seen. The place where the *Delight* was lost is involved in obscurity, though it has been hitherto generally supposed that she perished in "the flats and dangers" of Sable Island, until the Nova Scotian antiquarian, already mentioned, shipwrecked the "Amiral" in a sheltered part of Louisbourg harbour.² But if we study the record of the voyage of the English adventurers we may admire the ingenuity of the Nova Scotian writer, but can hardly come to the same conclusion.³ We have no conclusive evidence that the Englishmen ever reached and entered a port in Cape Breton, though it appears in leaving Newfoundland they shaped their "course unto the island of Sablon, if conveniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Breton." They spent eight days in the navigation between Cape Breton—that is to say the cape of that name—and Cape Race in Newfoundland, but they never got sight of any land all that time, seeing they were "hindered by the current," and at last "fell into such flats and dangers that hardly any of them escaped," and where they lost their "Amiral with all the men and provisions not knowing certainly the place." They were entirely out of their course, and although they have left us several reckonings they are so much at variance that even Dr. Patterson despite his zeal to establish his point is obliged to admit the difficulty of coming to a correct conclusion as to the exact situation of "the flats and dangers," and to fall back on a series of surmises and probabilities to bring the *Delight* into Louisbourg harbour. He would make us believe, for instance, when he is literally at sea, that the mate's

¹ This paper was read by Rev. Dr. Patterson before the Royal Society of Canada during its May meeting, 1891, at Montreal, but has not appeared in the 'Transactions' for that year, owing to the pressure of other papers. The writer has kindly allowed me the privilege of studying this essay, whose careful preparation all must admit, even while differing entirely from its conclusions.

² In his paper on the Portuguese discoveries in 1890 ('Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., viii. sec. 2) he thought it was a Portuguese gun, but in 1891 he changed his mind.

³ The account of the voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert will be found in Hakluyt (Goldsmid's ed.), xii. 345-350, 363-367.

reckoning was inaccurately copied in the printing, when it is clear on the face of the record that all the reckonings were wrong. The master of the *Delight*, in the relation which he has left behind, tells us that Sir Humphrey Gilbert and all the captains "fell to controversie" of the course, when within twenty leagues of the Isle of Sable. Sir Humphrey contended that the reckoning kept by the master of the *Amiral* was untrue. If the vessels had been off Cape Breton—the best known cape in those waters—there could have been no difficulty as to the course. It is equally clear that they could never have entered so safe a port as Louisbourg, for there is no mention of a harbour, but only of "flats and dangers," where the whole fleet was nearly lost. All the details of the shipwreck, as they have come down to us, show clearly that it must have been on some unknown shore that the disaster happened. On an August day, when the rain and mist prevented them seeing a cable length before them, they saw what at first they thought were "white cliffs," but was evidently the sea breaking on the rocks, though they could not descry any land. Presently the "*Amiral* struck the ground, and had soon her stern and hinder parts beaten in pieces, and thereupon the two other vessels made off seaward." We are told that there was not enough water upon the sand for the other vessels, much less for the largest, the *Amiral*, that drew fourteen feet. A number of the crew of the *Delight* succeeded in saving themselves in a pinnace of the vessel, but the captain and many others were drowned. "And when the sixteen were in the boate," continues the eye-witness of the wreck, Clarke, the master, "some had small remembrance, and some had none, for they did not make account to live, but to prolong their lives as long as it pleased God, and looked every moment of an hour when the sea would eat them up, and the boat being so little and so many men in her." Not a word is said of the fleet having seen land or entered a harbour—no such inference can be drawn from any of the narratives before us. It is almost certain had they entered a port like Louisbourg they would have given us an account of its natural characteristics and of the incidents of their visit, just as they did in the case of the ports of Newfoundland, and in all probability Sir Humphrey Gilbert would have claimed the sovereignty of his queen over the island by some formal act. One knowing Louisbourg must feel that had the voyagers once reached that port no such story of disaster would have been told. The *Delight* might have been wrecked on the rocks that bar the entrance of the port, but then not an atom of her, certainly not a piece of ordnance, would have been left to tell the tale. The place where the old gun was found is on the western shore and within the peaceful haven, and however the storm might have raged outside, the fleet could have anchored safely and been hardly tossed by the relatively slight commotion that prevails in times of the most furious winds. The whole story of the wreck, and of the escape of the pinnace, speaks of shoals and rocks, and not of one of the safest and calmest harbours in American waters. If the fleet had found itself once moored in this fine port, we should assuredly have had a very different story from the adventurers who have left the records of that disastrous voyage behind them. It is idle to connect the finding of an old cannon in the mud of the Louisbourg shore with the ambiguous stories of sailors out of their reckoning, and unable to see any land, but only the sea breaking on shores and rocks. In olden times vessels of many nations sought refuge in Louisbourg harbour, and it was not unusual for many of the large class to be armed that they might defend themselves against the savages of "the

new found lands," or against their rivals who were exploring those far distant seas.¹ It is quite easy to believe that these vessels would often be armed with old weapons, which could be bought cheap in the ports of Europe. Some storm-tossed vessel may have found its way into the haven, and may have been left to rot on the shore, while the crew were taken off on the vessels that began to frequent Louisbourg in the beginning of the sixteenth century, or perhaps the old weapon was thrown overboard as useless. But the facts, so far as they have come down to us, by no means establish that Sir Humphrey Gilbert ever entered the famous old port.

As one looks carefully in these days at the natural position of the old fortress, it is quite obvious that it must have been extremely weak on the land side, when once an enemy obtained a footing on shore. The most dangerous point was, of course, Gabarus Bay, and the French would have been wise had they built strong permanent forts or batteries at every cove where there was a chance of an enemy landing. The history of the last siege shows that the French were quite aware of the necessity for such batteries, but they had no force strong enough to maintain even the works they were able to construct with the materials close at hand. In endeavouring to prevent the landing they had left the town itself almost undefended. Then, when the enemy was established in force, the French were not able to prevent them taking possession of the northeast entrance, and the green hills which command the town. The grand battery was never of any use, and the one at Lighthouse Point was also deserted at the first sign of peril. Both of these works, if held by the French, could have thwarted the plans of the English for some time; but as it was there were no men to spare for these defences, if indeed they were in a condition to resist attack for many days. The town, then, from the land side, stood isolated and dependent entirely on its own defences. From the sea on the other hand, it was much less liable to danger. We have evidence of this in the fact that the island battery at the entrance, during the two sieges, for weeks kept the fleet outside of the harbour. If the Lighthouse Point had been defended by a powerful fort, garrisoned by a sufficient force, the entrance would have been almost impregnable.

The rocky islands that lie between the ocean and the port and make it so secure a haven in the most tempestuous season present a very picturesque aspect as we survey them from the heights of the old town. They seem to form a sort of cordon of rocks and shoals, on which the sea rushes in all its impetuosity, only to find itself stopped in its fierce desire to reach the peaceful haven. The spray rises in times of storm in great clouds of mist on these dangerous rocky ledges, and then, as soon as the wind subsides, there is hardly a ripple to tell of the danger that lurks beneath the unruffled surface that hides these rocks where death ever awaits the storm-tossed or careless sailor. It was on one of such rocks in the vicinity of Porto Novo, a short distance to the northeast of Louisbourg, that the French frigate *Chameau* on her way to Quebec, was shipwrecked one August night in 1725. All the ranks and professions were represented on the hapless vessel, "*grande et belle flûte du roi, commandée par M. de Voutron.*" An intendant of Canada,

¹ See App. VIII (3) to this work, where an account is given of the visit of the Hopewell of London, in 1597, to Louisbourg harbour, where a Biscay vessel, whose crew had robbed the *Chancewell*, the consort of the English ship, when cast away on the coast of Cape Breton, "bent a piece of great ordnance at us." When we consider the many armed vessels that visited Louisbourg for centuries it is not difficult to account for the appearance of an old gun in the mud of the port.

a governor of Three Rivers, black-robed priests, officers and soldiers, peasants and their wives, brave men and fair women, representatives of many families in New and Old France perished, and "all Canada was placed in mourning and lost more in one day than she had lost by twenty years of war."¹ Here Admiral Holbourne's fleet, surprised by one of those furious gales that often visit the coast, expected every instant to be tossed on the rocks over which the sea rushed with great billows of foam, and only escaped at last with the masts and rigging torn away by the fury of the wind, and the loss of one gallant ship that was carried among the rocks of St. Esprit, on the southern coast of the island. The shores of Cape Breton from Cape North to the most southern point on the Atlantic, could tell many a sad story of disaster to the numerous vessels that have been hurled on its reefs from the earliest times since the gulf became a highway of commerce. Even the loss of the *Chameau* has had a parallel in that of the *Auguste*, wrecked on her way to Europe in the autumn of 1761 on some unknown part of the precipitous northeastern coast, with a number of Canadian families, and many soldiers of the Bearn and Royal Rousillon regiments, who had escaped the dangers of war that they might meet an inglorious death amid the roar of the breakers and the tempest on the desolate shores of the island which, like the Canada they had left, had passed away from France for ever.²

As we stand on the ruined ramparts, let us for a moment forget the prosaic scene that forces itself upon us on every side in these days of the old port's departed greatness, and recall the history of the past with its enterprising adventurers and discoverers, its bold soldiers and famous sailors, its squadrons of stately ships and its regiments drawn from France, England and the thirteen colonies, then developing into national life and activity. Cape Breton in these times is merely a fine island to the tourist who travels through its picturesque lakes, and surveys its noble ports and bays only in the light of the prosaic present. Its geological features and its rich coal deposits attract the scientist. Others speculate with the eye and brain of the capitalist on the opportunities that its mineral and other resources, and its admirable position at the entrance of the Gulf of Saint-Lawrence, offer to enterprise and energy. Some still look forward with reason to the time when Sydney and Louisbourg will become great ports of the world's commerce, and more than realize the conceptions of the astute Raudots nearly two centuries ago. But these are not the only thoughts that will press upon the mind at times when we travel over the historic ground that lies between the old site of Port Toulouse and the ruins of Louisbourg. We can see in memory the sails of the Basque and Breton fishermen hovering centuries ago off the bays of the island which had no name and hardly a place then in the rude maps of the world. We can see Spaniard and Portuguese venturing into its unknown rivers and harbours, and giving them names which were so many recollections of their homes across the sea. At times when the vessels of many nations anchor in its safe havens we hear a curious medley of tongues; the Saxon words of Kent and Devon, the curious dialects of the Bay of Biscay, the sonorous Spanish and the softer Portuguese, the old Celtic language of Bretagne so closely allied to that of the old Britons across the English Channel. The years pass by, and the island still remains a solitude save where the wandering Micmac raises his birch lodge and lights his fire on the shores

¹ Charlevoix, 'Journal Historique,' Ed. i, p. 69. A "flute" is a long vessel with flat ribs, and used generally as a transport.

² See App. XVI to this work.

of the inlets and rivers of the noble lakes, then in the sublimity of their ancient beauties — vistas of the great forests untouched by the axe, and of mountains where the foot of European never trod. Then suddenly a town rises on its eastern shores — a town with walls of stone, where the cannon and the lilies of France tell of the ambition of the nations of Europe to seize the new world, with its enormous possibilities. Then it is no longer the sails of adventurous fishermen that dot these waters. We see great fleets with their armaments of heavy metal ranged for miles off the harbour that now represents the power of France. We can hear the shouts of triumph as the flag comes down on the *Vigilante*, surprised on her way to succour Louisbourg. We can see the dim hull of the *Aréthuse* stealing, amid the darkness of night, through the vessels of the blockading squadron, to tell the French king that his dream of empire in America is fast drawing to an end. We can see the old leaky *Notre-Dame de Délivrance* — no longer a name of auspicious omen — carried into port with its rich cargo of gold and silver from the mines of Peru, amid the cheers of the sailors on the English ships, and of the soldiers as they crowd the ramparts of the town over which the French flag still floats in mockery of the hopes of De Ulloa and his French companions when they sought the port as a safe refuge after their storm-tossed voyage from the Spanish colonies of the south. We can see the men working like so many ants in the trenches, and manning the batteries from which the shot flies fierce and hot upon the devoted town, making great breaches in its walls. Farmers, fishermen, and mechanics of New England, sturdy, energetic, sharp-witted, full of wise saws and scriptural quotations specially adapted to themselves and their own wishes; men from the grass-meadows of Devon and the hop-gardens of Kent; stalwart highlandmen whose hearts still go across the water to Prince Charlie, or linger in their Scottish glens which may know them no more; sturdy English sea-dogs, as ready to swear as to fight; the self-reliant, calm merchant of the Piscataqua; the tall, gaunt form of Wolfe, with his emaciated face on which illness had left its impress; Duchambon and Drucour with disappointment and care depicted in their eyes, as they survey the ruins of their fortress; silent sullen Frenchmen mourning their fate as they see the red cross of England flying over their citadel; a gentle cultured lady amid the storm of shot and shell, showing Frenchmen that their women would, if they could, fight for France and her honour to the last; a sturdy sailor who, in later times, was to give England the right to claim an Australasian continent in the southern seas. All these pass in a rapid panorama before our eyes as we recall the shadowy past with its associations of victories won on three continents. Here we stand on ruins which link us with the victories of Plassy, Rossbach, and Minden — with new empires won in Asia and Europe, with the rise of dynasties, and the defeated schemes of kings and princes, once dominant in Europe. Three continents were here allied in the days of Pitt, and whether we walk over these old ruins in Cape Breton or bow reverently before the monuments that tell of England's famous men in her ancient Abbey, and see most conspicuous among them all the stately figure of Chatham, with his outstretched arm, "bidding England to be of good cheer, and hurling defiance at her foes," we feel that though this land of ours be new and have few of those historic memories that make every inch of England or of France so dear to the historian, the poet and the novelist, yet here at least at Louisbourg as on the heights of Quebec, and on the banks of Lake Champlain

we have a rich heritage of associations that connect us with the most fascinating and momentous pages of the world's history. But we soon awake from this reverie to find around us only grassy mounds, and in place of the noble fleets which once whitened the ocean, from Lorembec to Gabarus, with their great spread of canvas in days when ships were objects of interest and beauty, and not uncouth masses of iron and steel, we see now but a little fishing-boat, running merrily with a favouring breeze through the entrance, perhaps a sail or two in the distant horizon, or a lengthening pennant of smoke which tells us of a passing steamer engaged in the commerce which long since left this port, once the hope of France.

APPENDIX.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL NOTES.

In these notes it is the object of the writer to give a complete summary of all the historical and other works which relate, in whole or in part, to Cape Breton, or Ile Royale. The books and pamphlets which refer exclusively to this island are few in number, not more than a dozen or so in all; but there was a period in French, English and American history when it obtained an important place in official and historical records. The historians of the wars between England and France from 1740 to 1763 — wars for supremacy in America — give prominence to the struggle for the possession of Cape Breton, then a bulwark of French ambition on the continent. In the English and French archives, and in the journals, memoirs and current literature of the time, Cape Breton takes up no inconsiderable space. References are given to all this literature, which has been consulted by the author, whenever accessible to him. Fortunately for him in Canada and New England the public libraries or the collections of private individuals possess all the more important sources of information from which he has drawn in the preparation of this work. He has not deemed it necessary to dwell at any great length on subjects where there is much literature of a debatable and argumentative character, like the Norse, Basque and Cabot voyages, but has confined himself to a meagre reference to the books on such questions and to a few critical remarks on points touching Cape Breton. In such cases the Narrative and Critical History of America affords, as a rule, all the material necessary for a complete examination of the subject. In these notes it is not intended to do more than make special allusion to works relating to Cape Breton, and the various episodes of its history, and to supplement as far as possible the information already collated by other writers.

I. THE VOYAGES OF THE NORTHMEN.

Here we come to a field of literature, replete with vague speculation, and remarkable opportunities for the display not only of archæological knowledge, but of imaginative power. In saying this, the writer must not be understood as doubting the visits of Scandinavian voyagers to some part of northeastern America nine centuries ago. Labrador, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and even parts of New England may have been seen by Biarne, Lief, and others of his countrymen, and there is obviously a historic substratum of truth in the sagas of the North. But at the same time one feels that none of the writers on the subject have been able to lift the veil of mystery that envelopes the lands the Norsemen visited, or to detract from the fame of Columbus, of the Cabots, or even of the Portuguese and Bretons who have at least left the impress of their language on the coasts of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Without further preface, I may now refer my readers to the following works as affording them abundant materials for the study of this subject, which is very attractive in many respects, and illustrates the remarkable original research that is given now-a-days to American history and its sources of information.

"*Antiquitates Americanæ sive Scriptores rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America*. Samling af de L Nordens Oldskrifter indeholdte Efterretninger om de gamle Nordboers Opdagelsesreiser til America fra det 10de til det 14de Aarhundrede. Edidit Societas Regia Antiquarior. Septentrionalium. Hafniæ (Copenhagen), 1837." This work of Professor Carl Christian Rafn, was the commencement practically of the investigations and studies of the Norse voyages for the past fifty years, although Torfæus, more than a century before, had written a book on the Vinland Discovery ("*Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ, etc.*," Hafniæ, 1705). With Professor Rafn, were associated Finn Magnusen and Sveinbiorn Egilsson, but the former is really entitled to all the credit of the work. Rafn is responsible for the theories respecting the Old Stone Tower at Newport, Rhode Island, and the Dighton Rock near Taunton, Massachusetts, as relics of the Northmen; but while the bold speculations and conjectures in which he indulged are now pretty well discredited, his work must always obtain recognition as a standard authority to be consulted on the main question of the Norse voyages. It has been translated into several languages.

"The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, with translations from the Icelandic Sagas," by B. F. De Costa (Albany N. Y., 1869 and 1890.) This work has for its principal object, as stated by the author, a well known American archaeological and historical student, "to place within the reach of the English reading public every portion of the Icelandic sagas relating to the pre-Columbian discovery of America by the Northmen, and to the steps by which that discovery was preceded." He is a firm believer in the historical value of these old manuscripts, and in New England "as the scene of the Northmen's exploits." He is of opinion (like Rafn, p. 423) that the description of Markland "agrees with the general features of Nova Scotia," p. 94, *n*.

"The finding of Wineland the Good. The history of the Icelandic Discovery of America. Edited and translated from the earliest records by Arthur Middleton Reeves. With phototype plates of the vellum mss. of the Sagas," (London, Oxford University Press, 1890). This sumptuous work in 4to is the latest contribution to the subject by an American scholar, who accepts the old Norse records as authentic. The work shows much erudition, and is of great interest and value to the student since it gives not only the texts of the three sagas on which the theory of the American discovery is based, but collects the numerous references to America and its discovery which are found in the ancient literature of Iceland. Mr. Reeves, however, gives the date of Torfæus's first work on the Vinland discovery incorrectly (p. 97); it was first published in 1705 and not in 1715. He has obviously confounded the former with *Historia Gronlandiæ Antiquæ*, printed in the year 1715. An excellent review of the work is given in the *Scottish Review* for October, 1891. Mr. Reeves died in a railway disaster in 1891.

"Pre-Columbian Explorations, with critical notes on the sources of information," is the title of the paper by Dr. Justin Winsor, in the *Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.* (i. chap. ii.). Here, as in the case of all articles in this historical work, is found a critical reference to the principal literature that had appeared on the subject previous to 1889, when the volume was printed. It contains among other illustrations copies of Rafn's maps of Norse America, of Vinland, and of the Dighton Rock with its inscriptions. Dr. Winsor's conclusion is (pp. 67, 68) that "the weight of probability is in favour of the Northmen's descent upon the coast of the American mainland at some point, or at several, somewhere to the south of Greenland; but the evidence is hardly that which attaches to well established historical records." Both Reeves, and the writer in the *Scottish Review*, mentioned above, take exception to these and other remarks of Dr. Winsor, as underrating the value of the sagas and the importance of the Norse voyages.

"The Vinland of the Northmen", in the '*Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*' (viii. sec. 2, art. 3.) by Sir Daniel Wilson, President of the University of Toronto, a well known archaeologist, is especially interesting to readers of this work on Cape Breton because it refers to a curiously inscribed rock (of which a copy is given in the *Trans.*), found forty-six years ago at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. The rock has been studied by various archaeologists, but, as Sir Daniel Wilson shows, a close examination of it proves that it neither accords with the style or usual formula of runic inscriptions, "and for this and other reasons, the Yarmouth stone must take rank with the illusory Thorfinn discovered by the Rhode Island Antiquaries on their famed Dighton rock which still stands by the bank of the Taunton River." The writer also discusses the theory raised by one of the new generation of northern antiquaries (Professor Gustav Storm,) Professor of history in the University of Christiania, who would make Kjalarnes, the northern extremity of Vinland, to correspond with northern Cape Breton and the fiord into which the Northmen steered to have been Canso or some other bay of Guysborough County in Nova Scotia; but it does not appear certain that grapes ever grew wild on the Nova Scotia coast, except perhaps, in some favoured part of the present King's and Annapolis Counties. As a matter of fact, Professor Storm has not yet succeeded in weakening the weight of evidence in favour of some part of southern New England as Wineland the Good. His essays on the subject are given below:—

"Om Betydningen af 'Eyktarstaor' i Flatobogens Beretning om Vinlandsreiserne", published in *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi*, November, 1885. See Reeves, p. 6.

"Studier over Vinlandsreiserne, Vinlands Geografi og Ethnografi," in *Aarb. f. Nord Oldk. og Hist. Copenh.*, 1887, pp. 293-372. See Reeves, p. 98.

Sir Daniel Wilson's art. refers to Storm's "Studies of Vinland voyages published in the *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaries du Nord*" for 1888, a partial translation of the foregoing "Studier."

Another article by a Canadian writer is a paper by R. G. Haliburton, (a son of Judge Haliburton, best known as "Sam Slick,") read before the British Association at Montreal, in 1884, in which he expresses the belief that the vineclad country of the Northmen will be always sought in vain—a rather sweeping assertion, which Sir Daniel Wilson, in the article just noticed, does not agree with.

In the '*Trans. of the Roy. Soc. of Can.*' (viii. sec. I, art. 5,) there is also a paper on "Les Scandinaves en Amérique," by Alphonse Gagnon, which gives a meagre summary of the evidence in support of the claim of the Northmen to the prior discovery of America, and concludes by summing up in favour of the Rhode Island theory without, however, adding any new facts to the controversy.

In the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society (Halifax, 1891) for 1889-91, there is a judicious paper on Vinland, with two maps, by Hon. L. G. Power, which also shows how difficult it is for any person who studies this vexed subject, to come to very definite conclusions. Mr. Power appears to believe, with Torfæus, that the Vinland of the old Norsemen was either in Labrador or Newfoundland—"the probabilities being in favour of the mainland." This writer, however, throws no new light on the question, which perplexes the most learned scholars.

Mr. Fiske, "Discovery of America," (Boston, 1892), vol. 1, has judicious remarks on the Pre-Columbian Voyages.

Dr. Justin Winsor, and other eminent scholars whose names are mentioned below, only see "a too confident enthusiasm" and "incautious linguistic inferences" (See "Nar. and Crit. Hist." i. 98) in Mr. Eben Horsford's supposed discovery at Watertown, Mass., of a Norse Norumbega "with its walled docks and wharves, dam, fishery, etc." But nevertheless Mr. Horsford continues to support his theory with the same "confident enthusiasm," and not content with publishing elaborate sketches of old maps, and illustrations of the alleged discoveries on the Charles, he has actually built at his own expense an antique stone tower at the mouth of Stony Brook (a tributary of the Charles) in honour of the Norsemen and in defiance of his opponents. His principal work on the subject, in large folio, has for title: "The Defences of Norumbega and a Review of the Reconnaissances of Col. W. Higginson, Prof. H. W. Haynes, Dr. Justin Winsor, Dr. F. Parkman, and Rev. E. F. Slafter," (Boston and New York, 1891.) See also "Review of the Problem of the Northmen and the Site of Norumbega, by Professor Olson, Madison University, [another doubter], and a Reply by E. N. Horsford," (Cambridge, 1891.) See Fiske, 220, *n*.

The Voyages of the Norsemen, Biarne and Leif.

Dr. De Costa gives the following translation ("Pre-Columbian Discovery of America," etc., p. 86) of Biarne's voyage from Codex Flatöiensis, given in "Antiquitates Americanæ," p. 17:

Heriulf was the son of Bard, Heriulf's son, who was a relation of Ingolf the Landnamsman. Ingolf gave Heriulf land between Vog and Reikianess. Heriulf dwelt first at Dropstock. His wife was Thorgird, and their son was called Biarne. He was a promising young man. In his earliest youth he had a desire to go abroad, and he soon gathered property and reputation, and was by turns a year abroad and a year with his father. Biarne was soon in possession of a merchant ship of his own. The last winter (A. D. 985) while he was in Norway, Heriulf prepared to go to Greenland with Eric, and gave up his dwelling. There was a Christian man belonging to the Hebrides along with Heriulf, who composed the lay called the "Hafgerdingar Song," in which is this stave:

"May he whose hand protects so well
The simple monk in lonely cell,
And o'er the world upholds the sky,
His own blue hall, still stand me by."

Heriulf settled at Heriulfness (A. D. 985), and became a very distinguished man. Eric Red took up his abode at Brattahlid, and was in great consideration and honoured by all. These were Eric's children: Leif, Thorvald and Thorstein, and his daughter was called Freydis. She was married to a man named Thorvald, and they dwelt at Gardar, which is now a bishop's seat. She was a haughty, proud woman, and he was but a mean man. She was much given to gathering wealth. The people of Greenland were heathen at this time. Biarne came over the same summer (A. D. 985) with his ship to the strand which his father had sailed abroad from in the spring. He was much struck with the news, and would not unload his vessel. When his crew asked him what he intended to do, he replied that he was resolved to follow his old custom by taking up his winter abode with his father. "So I will steer for Greenland if ye will go with me." They one and all agreed to go with him. Biarne said, "Our voyage will be thought foolish, as none of us have been on the Greenland sea before." Nevertheless they set out to sea as soon as they were ready, and sailed for three days, until they lost sight of the land they left. But when the wind failed, a north wind with fog set in, and they knew not where they were sailing to; and this lasted many days. At last they saw the sun, and could distinguish the quarter of the sky; so they hoisted sail again, and sailed a whole day and night, when they made land. They spoke among themselves what this land could be, and Biarne said that, in his opinion, it could not be Greenland. On the question, if he should sail nearer to it, he said, "It is my advice that we sail up close to the land." They did so, and they soon saw that the land was without mountains, was covered with woods, and that there were small hills inland. They left the land on the larboard side, and had their sheet on the land side. Then they sailed two days and nights before they got sight of land again. They asked Biarne if he thought this would be Greenland; but he gave his opinion that the land was no more Greenland than the land they had seen before. "For on Greenland, it is said, there are great snow mountains." They soon came near to the land, and saw that it was flat and covered with trees. Now, as the wind fell, the ship's people talked of its being advisable to make for the land, but Biarne would not agree to it. They thought that they would need wood and water, but Biarne said, "Ye are not in want of either." The men blamed him for this. He ordered them to hoist the sail, which was done. They now turned the ship's bow from the land, and kept the sea for three days and nights, with a fine breeze from southwest. Then they saw a third land, which was high and mountainous, and with snowy mountains. Then they asked Biarne if he would land here, but he refused; "for in my opinion this land is not what we want." Now they let the sails stand and kept along the land, and saw it was an island. Then they turned from the land stood out to sea with the same breeze; but the gale increased, and Biarne ordered a reef to be taken in, and not to sail harder than the ship and her tackle could easily bear. After sailing three days and three nights, they made, the fourth time, land; and when they asked Biarne if he thought this was Greenland or not, Biarne replied: "This is most like what has been told

me of Greenland, and here we shall take to the land." They did so, and came to the land in the evening, under a ness [a cape], where they found a boat. On this ness dwelt Biarne's father, Heriulf; and from that it is called Heriulfness. Biarne went to his father's, gave up sea-faring, and after his father's death continued to dwell there when at home.

Leif's voyage is recorded in the "Flato Manuscript," and is given in "Antiquitates Americanæ," pp. 26-40. I give Dr. De Costa's excellent translation, p. 92:

(A. D. 984.) It is next to be told that Biarne Heriulfson came over from Greenland to Norway, on a visit to Earl Eric, who received him well. Biarne tells of this expedition of his, in which he had discovered unknown land; and people thought he had not been very curious to get knowledge, as he could not give any account of those countries, and he was somewhat blamed on this account. (A. D. 986.) Biarne was made a court man of the earl, and the summer after he went over to Greenland; and afterward there was much talk about discovering unknown lands. Leif, a son of Eric Red of Brattahlid, went over to Biarne Heriulfson, and bought the ship from him, and manned the vessel, so that in all there were thirty-five men on board. Leif begged his father Eric to go as commander of the expedition, but he excused himself, saying he was getting old and not so able as formerly to undergo the hardship of a sea voyage. Leif insisted that he among all their relations was the most likely to have good luck on such an expedition, and Eric consented, and rode home with Leif, when they had got all ready for sea; but as they were getting near the ship the horse on which Eric was riding stumbled, and he fell from his horse and hurt his foot. "It is destined," said Eric, "that I should never discover more lands than this of Greenland, on which we live; and now we must not run hastily into this adventure." Eric accordingly returned home to Brattahlid, but Leif, with his comrades, in all thirty-five men, rigged out their vessel. There was a man from the south country called Tyrker with the expedition. (A. D. 1000.) They put the ship in order, and went to sea when they were ready. They first came to the land which Biarne had last (first) discovered, sailed up to it, cast anchor, put out a boat and went on shore; but there was no grass to be seen. There were large snowy mountains up the country, but all the way from the sea to these snowy ridges the land was one field of snow, and it appeared to them a country of no advantages. Leif said: "It shall not be said of us, as it was of Biarne, that we did not come upon the land; for I will give the country a name, and call it Helluland, [land of flat stones]." Then they went on board again and put to sea, and found another land. They sailed in toward it, put out a boat and landed. The country was flat and overgrown with wood, and the strand far around consisted of white sand, and low toward the sea. Then Leif said, "We shall give this land a name according to its kind," and called it Markland, [Woodland.] Then they hastened on board, and put to sea again, with the wind from the northeast, and were out for two days and made land. They sailed toward it, and came to an island which lay on the north side of the land, where they disembarked to wait for good weather. There was dew upon the grass, and, having accidentally gotten some of the dew upon their hands and put it in their mouths, they thought they had never tasted anything so sweet as it was. Then they went on board and sailed into a sound that was between the island and a ness that went out northward from the land, and sailed westward past the ness. There was very shallow water in ebb tide, so that their ship lay dry, and there was a long way between their ship and the water. They were so desirous to get to the land that they would not wait till their ship floated, but ran to the land, to a place where a river comes out of a lake. As soon as their ship was afloat they took the boats, rowed to the ship, towed her up the river and from thence into the lake, where they cast anchor, carried their beds out of the ship, and set up their tents. They resolved to put things in order for wintering there, and they erected a large house. They did not want for salmon, both in the river and in the lake, and they thought the salmon larger than any they had ever seen before. The country appeared to them of so good a kind that it would not be necessary to gather fodder for the cattle in winter. There was no frost in the winter, and the grass was much withered. Day and night were more equal than in Greenland and Iceland; for on the shortest day the sun was in the sky between Eyktarstad and the Dagmalastad. Now, when they were ready with their house-building (A. D. 1001), Leif said to his fellow-travellers: "Now I will divide the crew into two divisions and explore the country. Half shall stay at home and do the work, and the other half shall search the land; but so that they do not go farther than they can come back in the evening, and that they do not wander from each other." This they continued to do for some time. Leif changed about, sometimes with them and sometimes with those at home. Leif was a stout and strong man and of manly appearance, and was, besides, a prudent and sagacious man in all respects.

It happened one evening that a man of the party was missing, and it was the south countryman Tyrker. Leif was very sorry for this, because Tyrker had long been in his father's house, and he loved Tyrker in his childhood. Leif blamed his comrades very much, and proposed to go with twelve men on an expedition to find him; but they had only gone a short way from the station when Tyrker came to meet them, and he was joyfully received. Leif soon perceived that his foster father was quite merry. Tyrker had a high forehead, sharp eyes, with a small face, and was little in size and ugly; but was very dexterous in all feats. Leif said to him, "Why art thou so late, my foster father? and why didst thou leave thy comrades?" He spoke at first long in German, rolled his eyes and knit his brows; but they could not make out what he was saying. After a while and some delay, he said in Norse, "I did not go much further than they; and yet I have something altogether new to relate, for I found vines and grapes." "Is that true, my foster father?" said Leif. "Yes, true it is," answered he, "for I was born where there was no scarcity of grapes." They slept all night, and the next morning Leif said to his men: "Now we shall have two occupations to attend to, and day about; namely, to gather grapes or cut vines, and to fell wood in the forest to lade our vessel." This advice was followed. It is related that their stern boat was filled with grapes, and then a cargo of wood was hewn for the vessel. Towards spring they made ready and sailed away, and Leif gave the country a name from its products, and called it Vinland. They now sailed into the open sea, and had a fair wind until they came in sight of Greenland and the lands below the ice mountains. Then a man put in a word and said to Leif, "Why do you steer so close to the wind?" Leif replied, "I mind my helm and tend to other things, too; do you notice anything?" They said that they saw nothing remarkable. "I do not know," said Leif, "whether I see a ship or a rock." Then they looked and saw that it was a rock. But he saw so much better than they that he discovered men upon the rock. "Now I will," said Leif, "that we hold to the wind, that we may come up to them if they should need help; and if they should not be friendly inclined, it is in our power to do as we please and not theirs." Now they sailed under the rock, lowered their sails, cast anchor, and put out another small boat which they had with them. Then Tyrker asked who their leader was. He said his name was Thorer, and said he was a Northman. "But what is your name?" said he. Leif told his name. "Are you the son of Eric the Red of Brattahlid?" he asked. Leif said that was so. "Now I will," said

Leif, "take ye and all on board my ship, and as much of the goods as the ship will store." They took up this offer, and sailed away to Ericfiord with the cargo, and from thence to Brattahlid, where they unloaded the ship. Leif offered Thorer and his wife, Gudrid, and three others lodging with himself, and offering lodging elsewhere for the rest of the people, both of Thorer's crew and his own. Leif took fifteen men from the rock, and thereafter was called Leif the Lucky. After that time Leif advanced greatly in wealth and consideration. That winter sickness came among Thorer's people, and he himself and a great part of his crew died. The same winter Eric Red died. This expedition to Vinland was much talked of, and Leif's brother, Thorvald, thought that the country had not been explored enough in different places. Then Leif said to Thorvald, "You may go, brother, in my ship to Vinland if you like; but I will first send the ship for the timber which Thorer left upon the rock." So it was done.

II. THE CABOT VOYAGES.

Here we enter into the realm of earnest disputation, in which learned historians and archaeologists broach their favourite theories. All the authorities that the writer has consulted, seem, in his opinion, to show that John Cabot first discovered America in 1497, and not in 1494, as argued by M. d'Avezac (See his letter at end of Dr. Kohl's "History of the Discovery of Maine"). The landfall of that famous voyage is still, and is likely to remain, in dispute; but as long as the Sebastian Cabot *mappe monde* of 1544, discovered in Germany in 1843 by Von Martius, and deposited in the National Library of Paris, is believed by many authorities on such subjects to be authentic, some point on the northeastern coast of the island of Cape Breton must be accepted as the actual "*prima tierra vista*" of 1497. The delineation of Cape Breton, then considered a part of the mainland or the *terre des Bretons*, and the position of the island of St. John, (P. E. Island) named by Cabot, and the language of the legend or inscription on the map, referring to the discovery on the 24th June, go to support the Cape Breton theory. So much depends on the legend, No. 8, that I give it entire, as it appears on the Paris map in Spanish. I may here add, for the information of the reader who has not seen a copy of the original map, that it has numerous inscriptions or legends, in Spanish and Latin—the latter presumably a translation of the former:—

"No. 8. Esta tierra fue descubierta por Ioan Caboto Veneciano, y Sebastian Caboto su hijo, anno del nascimiento de nuestro Sauluado Iesu Christo de M.CCCC. XCIIII. a ueinte y quarto de Junio por la manana, a la qual pusieron nôbre *prima tierra uista*, y a una isla grâde que esta par ladha tierra, le pusieron nôbre *Sant Ioan*, por auer sido descubierta el mismo dia lagente della andan uestidos depieles de animales, usan en sus guerras arcos, y flechas, lancas, y dardos, y unas porras de palo, y hondas. Es terra muy steril, ay enella a muchos orsos blancos. y ciervos muy grâdes como cauollos, y otras muchas animales, y semeiantemête ay pescado infinito, sollos, salmões, lenguados, muy grandes de uara enlargo y otras muchas diversidades de pescados, y la mayor multitud dellos se dizen *baccallaos*, y asi mismo ay en la dha tierra Halcones prietos como cuervos Aquillas, Perdices, Pardilles, y otras muchas aues de duiersas maneras." [See *supra*, sec. I.]

It is a strong fact in support of the Sebastian Cabot claim to the authorship of this map,—of which the legends could hardly have been written by one not present at the time of the discovery—that Hakluyt reprinted for the first time in Latin, with a translation: "An extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discovery of the West Indies, which is to be seene in Her Majesties privie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants' houses." Clement Adams is said to have been a schoolmaster by profession, not an engraver, but we have no traces of his map except the extract in Hakluyt. One learned writer (Richard Biddle, in his erudite, though badly arranged, *Sebastian Cabot Memoir*, Philadelphia, 1831), expresses the opinion that "the disappearance of this curious document may probably be referred, either to the sales which took place after the death of Charles I., or to the fire in the reign of William III," but it is nevertheless strange that no copy of it has come down to us from the "ancient merchants," in many of whose houses Adams declares it was to be seen in his time. That my readers may, however, see that the Latin inscription of the Adams extract—we may assume it was taken out of the map by Adams himself, from the general tenor of Hakluyt's introduction given above—is to all intents and purposes the Spanish inscription of the *mappe monde*, I quote it below:—

Anno Domini, 1497, Joannes Cabotus venetus et Sebastianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt perviam, quam nullus prius adire ausus fuit, die 24 Junij, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellavit Terram primùm visam, credo quod ex mari in eam partem primùm oculos iniecerat. Nam quæ ex aduerso sita est insula, eam appellavit insulam Diui Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quod aperta fuit eo die qui est Sacer Duio Ioanni Baptistæ: Huius incolæ pelles animalium, exuiasque ferarum pro indumentis habent, easque tanti faciunt, quanti nos vestes preciosissimas. Cùm bellum gerunt, vtuntur arcu, sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clavis ligneis et fundis. Tellus sterilis est, neque villos fructus affert, ex quo fit, vt vrsis albo colore, et cernis inusitatæ apud nos magnitudinis referta sit: piscibus abundat, ijsque sane magnis, quales sunt lupi marini, et quos salmones vulgus appellat; soleæ autem reperiuntur tam longæ, ut vlnæ mensuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna est copia eorum piscium, quos vulgari sermone vocant *Bacallaos*. Gignunt in ea insula accipitres ita nigri, vt cornuorum similitudinem mirum in modum expriment, perdices autem et aquilæ sunt nigri coloris." [See Harisse, "Jean et Sebastian Cabot" (Paris, 1882) as to date, pp. 52-60, 151-6.]

The slight discrepancies between the Spanish and the Latin versions I have here given perplex students; for it would seem that if Adams had had the original map before him he would have copied the Latin version exactly

as it was in the map he cut. Dr. Deane ("Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," iii. 45) supposes there may be another Cabot map yet to be discovered, or Adams may have translated from a map with a Spanish inscription only. Translators take liberties as we see even in Hakluyt's translation of the Latin text of Adams's extract, for he adds even the following words in a parenthesis at the commencement, "with an English fleet set out from Bristoll." Biddle is particularly severe on Hakluyt for such liberties ("Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," pp. 53, 54). If there was another edition of the Cabot map, with Spanish inscriptions only, then the Adams version is fully explained. Indeed, there is reason to believe there were other editions of the Cabot map (See "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," iii. 21, *n.*, where a reference is made to a map which appears to have been published in 1549, when in all probability Adams made his extract.) The whole subject, however, is involved in too many perplexities to merit dwelling on it much longer, and my chief object in referring to the matter at all here is to show that both the Spanish and the Latin versions of the legend, taken with the map itself, generally apply to the island of Cape Breton. It is, however, the Spanish legend which, read as a whole, is the best evidence in favour of the Cape Breton claim to have been the first discovered land. Adams's Latin version appears to describe the inhabitants of the island, St. John, over against *prima tierra vista*, rather than the first discovered land itself, and Hakluyt's English translation is to the same effect. It is not probable that Cabot in the inscription meant to ignore *prima tierra vista*, and give undue prominence to the island. Adams here obviously shows he must have carelessly translated the Spanish inscription, supposing he had only that in his possession, or he may have been a slovenly copyist of some map in his possession. It does not appear that Hakluyt and Purchas both of whom quote it, ever saw the Cabot map, but only gave the extract as made by Adams. The Spanish version I have given above from the *mappe monde* of 1544 makes the whole matter more intelligible since the references are clearly to the inhabitants and natural products of the first seen land itself. In Adams's extract, a period on the fourth line (see extract above) instead of a colon after "*Ioanni Baptistæ*" would easily make "*Hujus incolæ pelles animalium etc.*" refer to the *prima tierra vista*; but we are again met in the tenth line (see above) by the use of "*ea insula*," which would seem to show that in this version the natural characteristics of the island are alone described. In the Spanish legend, on the other hand, we find "*en la dha tierra*," "in the same land"—obviously *prima tierra vista*—and not "in that island" as in the Adams extract. Elsewhere I have stated my belief that the northern part of Cape Breton is the *prima tierra vista* (*supra*, sec. I.) The Scatari theory would be quite justified by the description in the legend, and the course a navigator would probably take from Bristol to the southern entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but the defined position of St. John's island in the *mappe monde* is against the theory. If we accept Sebastian Cabot as the map-maker then he could not have misplaced the island "*que esta par la dha tierra*." Richard Biddle, who was the first scholar sixty years ago, to write learnedly on the Cabot Voyages, chiefly as an eulogist of Sebastian, supported his contention in favour of Labrador as *prima tierra vista* by the supposed existence of an island of St. John in the latitude of 56° immediately on the coast of Labrador; but the discovery of the *mappe monde* is fatal to his theory, which had no authority except a doubtful map of Ortelius borrowed from Mercator (See Deane in "Nar. and Crit. of Am.," iii. 34). If we could reject the supposed *mappe monde* of Sebastian Cabot as a mere fabrication—as an attempt to reproduce a map shown by Clement Adams to have had an existence in his time,—then Scatari might with considerable reason be given as the island seen over against the landfall in 1497. The maker of a spurious map, in later times, knowing of the existence of an island of St. John in the Gulf would probably indicate it as the *prima tierra vista*. On these and the various other perplexing questions that surround the whole subject I refer the reader to the following most recent writings:—

"The Voyages of the Cabots," with a critical essay in the "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," (iii. 1-58), by Charles Deane, LL.D., an authority on American history and archaeology. All the important works on the subject are here cited with critical acumen. Dr. Deane believes that the weight of evidence is in favour of the authenticity of the map, and that there is no good reason for not accepting the northern part of Cape Breton as Cabot's landfall.

"Jean Cabot," in *Le Canada Français* for October, 1888, (University of Laval, Quebec) by the Abbé J. D. Beaudoin, one of those learned men like Ferland, Casgrain, Hamel, and Cuoq, that the Roman Catholic Church of Canada can claim among its teachers. He goes over the ground travelled by all writers on the subject, and combats the arguments of Biddle, and other supporters of the Labrador theory. He comes to the conclusion that it is difficult to deny the authenticity of the Sebastian Cabot map, and that "there is no reason not to accept the northern part of Cape Breton as *tierra primùm vista*." But one cannot agree with the Abbé when he goes so far as to construe the legend respecting Cape Breton on a Portolano map of 1520 or 1514—*Terra que foy descuberta por Bertomes*—as referring to the English (Breton) discovery under Cabot, and not to the generally recognized claim of the French Bretons to have given their name first to the island and the adjacent country. As to the white bears seen by the voyagers he believes, with reason, they might have existed in 1497 in northern Cape Breton.

Harris (Cabots, 65, 85) favours Cape Percé (old name of north head of Cow Bay), but he himself effectively disposes of this theory by stating it is 129 miles distant from Prince Edward Island.

"The Landfall of Cabot," in the 'Transactions of the Geographical Society of Quebec' for 1888, (published for 1886-87-88-89 in one volume in 1889), by James R. Howley, F. G. S., of Newfoundland. It was written mainly to refute the theory raised by Professor Eben Horsford in a letter to the American Geographical Society (Bulletin No. 2, for 1885, N. Y.), that the site of the landfall was Salem Neck, in 42°, 32n. lat., and that the town of Norumbegue was on the Charles River. This theory, in his opinion, shows how the imaginative faculty can be stretched on questions on which the evidence is doubtful, and there is room for much disputation. Mr. Howley gives his view in favour of Labrador, but he admits that the presence of the words "prima tierra vista" on the coast of Cape Breton "is a difficult question to dispose of," and all he can conclude at last after the usual assumptions and attempted applications of old and never reliable maps to the subject of controversy is that, though he does "not pretend to have established the fact, that Cabot's actual landfall in 1497 could be no other land than some part of the Labrador coast, yet the foregoing evidence tends greatly towards that conclusion." Most students (see *supra*, App. I.) agree with him when he says that "at all events it must be conceded that the grounds upon which that supposition is placed, are certainly of a more promising character than those which Mr. Horsford brings forward to establish his theory for Salem Neck and Cape Ann."

"Cabot's Landfall," in the 'Magazine of American History' for October, 1891, by the Very Reverend M. F. Howley, DD., a Roman Catholic clergyman of Newfoundland. Here a scholarly dignitary comes to the rescue of Bonavista or Cape St. John, on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, as the site of the famous discovery of 1497, "in whose favour," in his opinion, "there still remains a strong presumption," despite the strength of the evidence for Labrador. It is impossible, of course, to follow the writer in his disquisition, which, as usual, shows all the anxiety to make old authors and maps—not a difficult task when we consider their vagueness—harmonize with his assumptions. He, like all others, cannot surmount the difficulty of the words "prima tierra vista" on the delineation of Cape Breton, and is consequently obliged to fall back on the only possible way of getting out of the difficulty, by supposing that some person, not knowing much about Spanish, inserted the words on the map. But the fact that the words "prima tierra vista" on the north of Cape Breton, corresponds *verbatim et literatim* with the inscription on the sides,—an inscription, as much a part of the map as the delineation itself of the coasts and their names—shows that they were written on the same authority, if not by the same person, obviously Sebastian Cabot who alone could know the facts. Dr. Howley is not always remarkably accurate in his statements, in discussing a subject on which one should attempt to follow the exact wording of the authorities, or evidence, on which the whole argument is necessarily based. For instance, he says that "Cabot is supposed to have sighted land at Cape North, and at the same time, [the italics are mine] or shortly after, to have seen this island off the coast, insula quæ ex adverso est, an island *just alongside*, en face ou tout à côté." These are the observations he makes before going on to advance his opinion that Cabot could not have sighted P. E. Island or St. John on the same day he made Cape North. But, in the first place, "ex adverso," properly translated (See any good Latin-English dictionary, like 'Andrews'), is "over against," and not alongside. In 'Hakluyt's not very accurate translation of Adams's extract, it is given, not alongside, but "that island which lieth out before the land." More than that, Dr. Howley could not have consulted either Adams's extract or the inscriptions on the *mappe monde*, when he writes of the island being discovered "at the same time." Adams's extract gives the discovery of *prima tierra vista* at five o'clock in the morning, and of the island on the same day and not at the same time or hour. The Latin inscription on the *mappe monde* of 1544, is "hora 5, sub. diluculo," ("Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," iii. 21, n.) which agrees with Adams.

The Spanish inscription refers to the first land being seen in the morning simply, without giving the hour—a discrepancy which a mere fabricator of the map and its inscriptions would be anxious to avoid, if he desired to deceive the world. It is clear, at any rate, that the discovery was early in the morning, at a time of the year, when the daylight is longest—over 15 hours in that latitude,—and it was therefore quite possible for Cabot, with a strong favouring breeze, to have sighted P. E. Island before darkness set in on the same day he discovered the northern part of Cape Breton. Indeed, the inscription is clearly very general in its scope, and was written many years after the discovery, but such as it is, it sufficiently explains the respective positions of *prima tierra vista*, and of the island which the navigators next saw on the same day. One is inclined to doubt Dr. Howley's care in consulting authorities, when he tells us in another place that Cartier discovered and named St. Paul's island, "le Cap de Saint Paul." The relation of the second voyage to which I refer fully below, (See *infra*, App. VII.) does not speak of an island at all, but only of some cape clearly to the south of Cape North or Cape St. Lawrence. It is such mere generalizations, and careless references to the authorities that mar an otherwise scholarly article, and leads us to ask, whether in his zeal to make his point he does not at times inadvertently mislead his readers.

In the "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." (iii. 23; iv. 84) there are copies of a part of the Sebastian Cabot *mappe monde*. A still clearer copy for consultation on the questions at issue, is given in the "Discovery of North America" (p. 358) by Dr. Kohl, who endeavored to show how utterly impossible it is, that it was either drawn by Sebastian

Cabot, or executed under his direction or superintendence, (pp. 335-377) but even this learned man concludes by saying that he does "not pretend to speak decisively on the subject"—that the landfall was not Cape Breton. The weight of his argument goes to show that the year of discovery must have been 1497, and not 1494, as urged by M. d'Avezac in the Appendix to the same work (pp. 502-514) in support of the claim for the latter year, which he had elaborately pressed for many years (See "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie" of Paris, Oct. 1857, Note K, pp. 266-278). It now appears to be the opinion of scholars generally, that the two voyages were in 1497 and 1498. The French Geographer, M. Jomard, who procured the *mappe monde* for the imperial library at Paris, on its discovery in Germany, has given a facsimile of it in his elaborate work, "Les Monuments de la Géographie," (Paris, 1854-56) but it does not contain the inscriptions. Other sketches are given in Bryant and Gay's "United States" (i. 193); Judge Daly's "Early History of Cartography" (New York, 1879); Julian de la Gravière's "Les Marins du Quinzième et du Sixième Siècle" (Paris, 1879), and an essay on the subject, also published in the "Revue des deux Mondes" for 1876. In Dr. Justin Winsor's "Christopher Columbus," (Boston, 1891) there is also a sketch of the map, (p. 626). See "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," (iii. 21, n.) for other references to copies of the map of which I give a sketch in the text of this work. One of the best copies (coloured) is in Harrisse's *Cabots*.

In an article by G. Dexter, Recording Secretary of the Mass. Hist. Soc., in the "Mem. Hist. of Boston," (i. 30, n.) on "Early European Voyages in Mass. Bay," he says "the best evidence points to Cape Breton," and cites in this connection J. C. Brevoort's 'Hist. Mag.,' March, 1868; F. Kidder, 'N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.,' Oct., 1878; H. Stevens, "Sebastian Cabot—John Cabot, = O," and Mr. Deane's paper on Cabot's "Mappe Monde" in the 'Proc. of the Am. Antiq. Soc.,' for April, 1867, "where the earliest suggestion of Cape Breton (drawn from the map) is made."

Mr. Goldsmid of Edinburgh, (See *infra*, App. VIII 3,) in his addition of "Hakluyt," refers to a facsimile of a part of the map, (facing page 23, vol xii) and adds: "As will be seen the words 'Prima Tierra Vista' are opposite a Cape about the 48th. parallel, which would be Cape Breton. In a letter written to the Duke of Milan, by Raimondo de Soucino, his minister in London, and dated the 18th Dec. 1497, a very interesting account is given of Cabot's voyage. Archives of Milan. *Annuario scientifico*, Milan, 1866, p. 700." This letter, which is cited in full by Dr. Deane, in "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," (iii. 54-55) "throws no light on the landfall," though it is sufficient "to show [the words quoted are Dr. Deane's] that North America was discovered by John Cabot, and that the discovery was made in 1497." None of the copies of the Goldsmid ed. of "Hakluyt" I have seen contain the map referred to above.

III. THE PORTUGUESE VOYAGES.

The critical essay on sources of information, at end of the essay on "Cortereal, Verrazzano, Gomez, and Thevet" by George Dexter, in the "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." (iv. 1-32) gives the authorities on the Cortereal voyages, but since that work was printed the Reverend George Patterson, DD., F. R. S. C., has written an exhaustive monograph on "The Portuguese on the northeast coast of America, and the first European attempt at colonization there. A lost chapter in American History" ('Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada,' viii. sec. 2, art. 4; also 'Mag. of Am. Hist.,' April, 1891). It is illustrated by various maps, to support his claim that the Portuguese explored not only the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland but the shores of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia and the adjacent lands. Among other facts he refers (p. 150) to the Portuguese origin of the name, Baya Funda, or Deep Bay, which the French attempted to change to Baie Française. He believes in the existence of a Portuguese colony at St. Peter's, Cape Breton, and not at Inganiche as stated by Champlain; (see *infra*, App. VIII. 4) but he adduces no evidence to make converts to this theory, however plausible. One can, however, fully agree with his general conclusion (p. 171) that "this people occupied a foremost place in the exploration of this part of the continent, and for a long time had a commanding influence along its shores. Portuguese influence in this quarter has passed away as an exhalation of the night and a few names are all that remain to tell of their former presence." Dr. Patterson has long been known for the ability and research he brings to archæological and historical work, and is among the Canadian pioneers of this class of study. He is a resident of Pictou Co., N. S., of which district he has written a history (Montreal, 1877, 8vo. pp. 471). See De Souza, "Tratado das Ilhas Novas," (1877) p. 5. See also Mr. R. G. Haliburton's remarks on the same subject in 'Popular Science Monthly' for May, 1885, pp. 46-50. He also refers, in the same article (pp. 50-51) to a probable Spanish settlement at Sydney.

IV. NORUMBEGA.

On the subject of the indefinite region known as Norumbega, the reader may consult Rev. Dr. DeCosta's article and critical notes in "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v., c. 6, pp. 168-218; also, DeKohl, "Discovery of N. A.," 35, 205, 230, 231, 235, 283, 304, 353, 420, 489. Dr. DeCosta's learned paper gives much information, and many authorities bearing on this interesting subject of archæological research.

Aranbega, or Norumbega, or Norumbegue, or Terra de Norembega, or Norembegue or Norumbec is a name known only in the dawn of geographical knowledge in America. In the map of Hieronimus de Verazzano (1529) the district of Aranbega is a definite and "apparently unimportant locality." The great French captain whom Ramusio cites (See *infra*, App. VI.) refers as early as 1539 to the Indian name Norumbega as including La Terre Française or the French country discovered by Verazzano, and the present State of Maine, and extending in its entirety over a vast region from Cape Breton to Florida. In later times it was confined to the territory watered by the Penobscot, and some imaginative intellects eventually built a fine city of crystal and silver on the banks of that noble river. Arambec or Arembec—another form probably of the same name—appears to have been confined to Nova Scotia. John Rut in 1527 is said to have sailed towards Cape Breton and the coasts of Arembec. It is quite clear that in the indefinite geography of the sixteenth century the northeastern limit of Norumbega or Norumbegue was Cape Breton. The meaning of the word has perplexed all the geographical antiquarians who have devoted themselves to its study. It is believed to be Indian, but others contend even for a Scandinavian origin—a relic of the Northern voyagers. (See *supra* sec. IX.) It is most likely a survival of an old word in use among the tribes of the Algonquin family that inhabit Maine and the Maritime provinces of Canada. The Micmacs of Cape Breton and Abenakis of Maine show in their respective languages some evidences of their common origin. Bedabadece which was the Indian name given to a locality at the entrance of the river Penobscot and to the Camden Hills in Maine (See "Champlain," ii. 180-181) is obviously akin to Bedec on the Bras d'Or. The Abbé Maurault in his "History of the Abenakis" (Sorel, Prov. of Quebec, 1866) enumerates the seven tribes in Maine, New Hampshire and New Brunswick that composed the Abenakis, but leaves out the Micmacs on the ground that their language was different. But such words as Masquacook (Maskgateku), meaning a river with plenty of bark, has the Micmac affix—Maskive, the general name for bark. The Micmac adjective, Sakskae, flat, is also to be traced in the Abenaki word, Skkadagk, (the Sagadahock), the place where the ground is flat and continuous. It is quite probable that Norumbec, Loranbec (in Cape Breton) and Arambec are memorials of an Algonquin word which was in common use among the several tribes of the Algonquin family of Indians in northeastern America as the name of the region extending from Cape Breton to beyond the Kennebec river.

V. BACCALAOS ON THE OLD MAPS.

The ancient name of Baccalaos, like that of Terre des Bretons, seemed likely for many years of the early history of this continent to fix itself permanently to a considerable section of eastern America. In the Ruysch map (1508), it appears for the first time as an eastern projection of the old continent of Asia, as a cape or island called Baccalaurus. In Reinell's map (1504 or 1505), it is applied to an island Y dos Bocanhos. In the Portuguese Portalano map (1514-1520) Bacalnaos is given to the eastern coast of Newfoundland. Kohl ("Dis. of N. A.," 179) considers it comprises Newfoundland, Labrador and Nova Scotia. In Ribero's map (1529) Ta de Baccallaos is the designation of an irregular peninsula in eastern America. In Orontius Fine's globe (1531) Baccalar is applied to the peninsula of Acadia. In Lazaro Luiz's map (1531) Bacalhaos is an islet off the east coast of Newfoundland, and the same occurs in Hieronymus Verazzano (1529) where it appears as Backaliaio—another illustration of its variable orthography. In Carta Marina (1548) it is given to the eastern part of British America south of Labrador. In Mercator's map (1538) Bacclearum regio is clearly Canada. In De Laet's map, it is the name of a small island off eastern Newfoundland. On Ulpius's globe (1542) Bacclearum regio is the designation of Canada. In the Frere map (1546) dos Baquaethaos is an island off Newfoundland. In Gastaldi's map (1548) Tierra del Baccalaos is an indefinite region north of Norumbega or Nova Scotia, and west of Labrador,—obviously old Canada. The name of Los Baccalaos appears prominently in the Historia General de las Indias (1552) by Gomara, one of the most distinguished writers of Spain. In the Ramusio Gastaldi map (1550) it is applied to the southern part of Newfoundland. In Mercator's map (1569) it is given to the latter island. In Martines's (1578) it becomes a region south of Labrador, and obviously the later Acadia. In Wytfleit's (1597) it represents Newfoundland and Labrador. In Judæus's (1593) it is Newfoundland and it is the same in Quadus (1600). In About's (1610) Newfoundland is Terre neuve, and Baccalaos is given to a portion of eastern America, west of Accadie, now designated by its Indian name. In L'Escarbot's map (1609) Cape Breton becomes Baccalaos. From that time it disappears from the maps of the mainland of eastern America, and is confined to the small islet off the Bay of Conception on the east coast of Newfoundland, and to a point, Cape Baccaro, on the northwestern coast of Nova Scotia. The last mention we find of this ancient historic name in official documents is in the grant made in 1621 to Sir William Alexander of Nova Scotia, and here it still clings to the island of Cape Breton. These references to the old cartography of eastern America show, beyond dispute, that the name was of early application to this continent. Its origin is still a matter of controversy, but the weight of evidence appears decidedly on the side of the Basque theory. Doubt is thrown, however, on the statement of Peter Martyr ("De Orbe Novo" dec. iii., ch. 6) that John Cabot introduced the name,

which he found in use among the natives for "codfish." (See Kohl "Doc. Hist. of Maine," 188-189-481). Be that as it may there is every reason to believe that the Basques and Bretons ventured into American waters during times of which we have no record, and it is quite certain that Baccalaos is a word long used for codfish among the people on the Bay of Biscay and that it lingers still in the Spanish language, probably an inheritance from the Basques. L'Escarbot is of opinion "il est de l'imposition de nos Basques lesquels appellent une morüe, Baccillos," (i. 237). He adds that the proper name of the codfish in the Indian tongue is "apege,"—which is obviously the present Micmac word, "pegoo" (See Rand's "Micmac Dict"). Kohl is a strong advocate for the German origin of the term—the root of the word being, according to him, the Germanic "bolch" meaning fish. In his opinion the Portuguese fishermen originated the term *tiera de Bacalhas*, the stock-fish country, which eventually assumed the Spanish form *Baccalaos* "Doc. Hist. of Maine, 188, 189 and *n*. But see Harris's Cabots, 75. The "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." (vol. iii, especially p. 12, note 2) gives references to the various theories on the origin of the name, and after studying the opinions and considering all the testimony adduced on all sides, one must come to the conclusion the Basques can claim to have been among the earliest discoverers of eastern America.

VI. CARTOGRAPHY OF CAPE BRETON, 1527-1632.

Oviedo ("Historia de las Indias, ii. 148) who gives a description of the eastern coast of America in 1537 shows no knowledge of the gulf but he refers to the four coasts of Cape Breton Island. In the Maiollo map (1527) the cape (c. de berton) is laid down quite distinctly. In Ribero's (1529) the *terra de Breto* is the mainland. In Rotz's map (1542) *Cabo Bretos* is a large island with a long narrow strait between it and the main land. On the Ulpius globe *Cavo de bretoni* is defined. In the alleged Sebastian Cabot *mappe monde* (1544) J. Cabot's landfall is given as the eastern cape of the mainland, but there is an island to the south named *del berto*. In Allefonsce's sketches (1544-5) the island is well delineated. In Henri II map (1546) *Terre des Bretons* is given to the country afterwards known as Acadie and *cap aux Bretons* is represented by a small island off the coast. In the Freire map (1546) C. Britain is the southerly cape of the mainland, and the same happens in the Nic. Vallard's (of Dieppe) the exact date of which is uncertain. In the Gastaldi map (probably 1550) Cape Breton is an island off the mainland of the *Tierra de los broton*. In Jomard's (attributed to between 1550 and 1560) C. Breton is a southerly point of a small narrow island off the eastern mainland. In the Baptista Agnese map (1554) *terra de los bertoms* is on the mainland south of *Terra de Bacalaos*. In Bellerio's map (1554) C. Breton is a cape of the mainland. In Munster's (1540) C. Britonum is a cape of the continent and *Cortereal* is given to an island, probably the present Cape Breton. In Homen's, the Portuguese map-maker, (1558) C. dos bertoenes is obviously Cape Breton, but no island is delineated. In Ruscelli's C. Breton is delineated off the eastern coast of *Tiera de los Breton*. In Zaltieri's (1556) Cape Breton is a small island to the south of *terra de baccalaos*, clearly the present maritime provinces of Canada. In Nicholas des Liens's (1556) *cap aux Bretons* is given to a long irregular peninsula to the south of *Terra de Labrador*, and to the northeast of *Nouvelle France* which appears to include the present Eastern States. In Mercator's (1569) *Cap de Breton* is an island off the mainland of *Norombega* or *Nova Scotia*. In Ortelius's (1570, Cape Breton is not named, but the map is evidently a reproduction of the former, and the island appears off *Norumbega*. In Porcacchi's (1572) the delineations are even less correct, and Cape Berton is an insignificant island off the southern coast of *Terra del Laborador*. *Larcadia* and *Canada* are both mentioned. In Judæis's (1593) C. de brito is a mere spot off the mainland the configuration of which shows an enlarged geographical knowledge of the coasts. In De Bry's (1596) C. de Bertam is an island, fairly delineated for those days, off *Nova Francia* and *Norombega*. In Wyfliet's (1597) "*Nova Francia et Canada*," there is a large island off the eastern coast, an excellent if rude delineation of the present Cape Breton but the cape is not accurately placed as it is given to the mainland. In Quadus's (1600) C. de Breton is a small island off *Norombega*. From that date there is a new interest taken in the exploration of eastern America, and the maps of Champlain commence a new era in the cartography of Cape Breton. The reader who wishes to study the ancient geography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence will find illustrations of the maps, cited above, and a great deal of critical knowledge on the subject, in the "Nar. and Crit. Hist.," vol. iv. Excellent representations of many of the old maps are also given in Dr. Kohl's *Documentary History of Maine*. Mr. Ganong, in the paper mentioned on the following page, reproduces a number of these maps, and gives a learned dissertation on the subject well worthy of attention. It is interesting to note how nearly the adventurous Bretons succeeded in establishing their name on a considerable portion of Eastern America, including the present island.

The advocates of the Basque claim to the prior discovery and the naming of Cape Breton may urge in their favour the fact that the name of its cape is that of a headland in the bay of Biscay, in a district originally inhabited by a Basque population. On the other hand, in support of the Breton claim, there are the numerous maps, to which I have already referred, which seem to substantiate the fact that the cape was really named the Breton cape or the

cape of the Bretons. The Italian Ramusio, in his well known collection of voyages, (*Raccolta*, 1556, iii. 359) gives a discourse of a *gran capitano francese*, generally known to be Jean Parmentier of Dieppe, and written in 1539, in which the Bretons and Normans are mentioned as having frequented the northern parts of America thirty-five years before (probably in 1504) and to have named the now famous cape of the island of Cape Breton. The best evidence is adduced to show that Jean Denys of Honfleur, and pilot Gomart of Rouen visited the gulf in 1606 and Thomas Aubert of Dieppe in the *Pensée* two years later. Gosselin (*Documents*, etc. 13) gives a list of several vessels that made voyages to Newfoundland and the Gulf in 1508. Mr. De Costa, referring to these cumulative facts in favour of the Breton claim, says, with obvious force, "how poor is the appearance of that scepticism which has so long led visitors to look askance at the statements of Ramusio concerning Aubert and the *Pensée*." See "*Nar. & Crit. Hist. of Am.*," iv. 63, 64 n. A number of authorities are there cited in support of the Breton claim. Consult also pp. 3, n, of the same volume; Forster, "*Northern Voyages*," book iii. cc. ii, iv; Estancelin, "*Navigateurs Normands*," (Paris, 1832) 216, 240; Parkman, "*Pioneers of France in the New World*," 170-174, and notes especially; Justin Winsor, "*Columbus*," 555-556. In the Portuguese *Portolano* map, 1514 or 1520, we find added to Nova Scotia and the island of Cape Breton the Portuguese inscription "*terra que foj descuberta por bertomes*" (land discovered by the Bretons) "*Nar. & Crit. Hist. of Am.*," iii. 56. See also Kohl, "*Doc. Hist. of Maine*," 201-205, 179-181. This map is a strong confirmation of the claim that Cape Breton was discovered by the Bretons before the Portuguese themselves visited the island. See *Harrisse's Cabots*, 271.

VII. JACQUES CARTIER OFF CAPE BRETON.

Cartier appears on his return to Europe during his second voyage (1535-6) to have been within sight of the northern coast of Cape Breton. One of these capes was Cape Loreine—which, one account says, he named—and the other to the south of the former he called St. Paules. Much speculation has arisen whether cape Loreine was Cape St. Lawrence or Cape North. Mr. Ganong in a carefully studied paper on the cartography of the St. Lawrence (*Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, vii. sec. 2) believes from the similarity of names, that Loreine was the present St. Lawrence, but on the other hand, Mr. Pope, in his excellent monograph on Jacques Cartier (Ottawa, 1889, pp. 109, 110.) is an advocate of the claim of Cape North. Brown, on the other hand, ("*Hist. of Cape Breton*," p. 30) states that Cape Loreine was Cape Ray, in Newfoundland, and St. Paul's cape, Cape North, in Cape Breton Island. On Maiollo's map (1527) there is a *rio de San Paulo* near *Cap de Bertoni*, and also a *c. de San Paulo* delineated. In the Viegas map (1534) we see a San Paulo, on the western side of the gut of Canso, and Kohl (*Doc. Hist. of Maine*, 349, 350) is of opinion that "*S. Paulo* is a name often met with on the east coast of Cape Breton," and that "*Cartier only adopted and confirmed the name previously given*." Kohl also states, what is evident, that S. Paulo, though appearing on the eastern coast of Nova Scotia, was "*written by the map-maker on the place where it stands, because there was more room for it than in the place where it belongs*." Commenting on these maps, Ganong points out that Cape S. Paulo in Maiollo's map is really in Newfoundland and a river St. Paul is given to Cape Breton. He does not seem to agree with the conclusion to which Kohl comes why St. Paulo appears on the mainland, though it is reasonable and likely. Ganong also believes that St. Paul's Cape was the present St. Paul's Island. That my readers may see the difficulties surrounding the question I give the three following versions of Cartier's second voyage, so far as they relate to northern Cape Breton.

I.—FROM HAKLUYT, NAVIGATIONS, AMERICA (PART II), VOL. XIII., GOLDSMID'S EDITION (EDINBURGH, 1889) pp. 142, 143.

"Vpon Thursday being the twenty-sixe of the moneth, and the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, we coasted ouer to a land and shallow of lowe sandes, which are about eight leagues Southwest from Brions Island, aboue which are large Champaignes, full of trees and also an enclosed sea, whereas we could neither see, nor perceiue any gappe or way to enter thereinto. On Friday following, being the 27 of the moneth, because the wind did change on the coast, we came to Brion's Island againe, where we stayed till the beginning of Iune, and toward the Southeast of this Island, wee sawe a lande, seeming vnto vs an Island, we coasted it about two leagues and a halfe and by the way we had notice of three other high Islands, lying toward the Sands: after wee had knowen these things we returned to the Cape of the sayd land, which doeth diuide itselfe into two or three very high Capes: the waters there are very deepe, and the flood of the sea runneth so swift, that it cannot possibly be swifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in forty-seuen degrees and a halfe toward the South: on which Cape there is a low land, and it seemeth that there is some entrance of a riuer, but there is no hauen of any worth. Aboue these lands we saw another cape towards the south we named it Saint Paules Cape, it is at 47 degrees and a quarter.

"The Sunday following, being the fourth of Iune, and Whitsunday, wee had notice of the coast lying East-southeast, distant from the Newfoundland about two and twenty leagues: and because the wind was against vs, we went to a Hauen, which wee named S. Spiritus Porte, where we stayed till Tewsday that we departed thence, sayling along that coast vntil we came to Saint-Peters Islands. Wee found along the sayd coast many very dangerous Islands and shelues, which lye all in the Eastsoutheast and Westnorthwest, about three and twenty

leagues into the sea. Whilest we were in the sayd Saint-Peters Islands we met with many ships of France and of Britaine.

II.—From the copy published by the Quebec Literary and Historical Society in 1843. It is a reprint of one of three manuscripts, in the royal library of Paris :

"Le Jeudi, vingt-cinquième jour du dit mois, jour et feste de l'Ascension de Nostre Seigneur, nous traversâmes à une terre et sillon de basses araines, qui demeurent au Su-Ouest de la dite *Isle de Brion* environ huit lieues, parsus lesquelles y a de grosses terres pleines d'arbres; et y a une mer enclose, dont nous n'avons veu aucune entrée ni ouverture par où entre icelle mer.

"Et le Vendredi, vingt-sixième, parceque le vent changeoit à la coste, retournâmes à la dite *Isle de Brion*, où fusmes jusqu'au premier jour de Juin, et vinmes quérir une terre haute qui demeure au Su-Est de la dite *Isle*, qui nous apparoissoit estre une *Isle*, et la reengeâmes environ deux lieuës et demie, faisans lequel chemin, eumes connoissance de trois autres *Isles* qui demeuroient vers les araines; et pareillement les dites araines estre *Isle*, et la dite terre qui est terre haulte et unie estre terre certaine se rabattant au Nor-Ouest. Après lesquelles choses conneues retournâmes au Cap de la dite terre qui se fait à deux ou trois Caps hauts à merveille et grand profond d'eau, et la marée si courante, qu'il n'est possible de plus. Nous nommasmes celui cap le *Cap de Lorraine* qui est en quarante-six degrés et demi. Au Su duquel Cap y a une basse terre, et semblant d'entrée de rivière: mais il n'y a hable qui vaille, parsus lesquelles vers le Su, demeure un Cap que nous nommasmes le *Cap Saint Paul*, qui est en quarante-sept degrés un quart.

"Le Dimanche, troisième jour du dit mois, jour et feste de la Pentecoste, eumes connoissance de la côte d'Est Su-Est de Terre-Neuve, estant à vingt-deux lieuës du dit Cap. Et pour ce que le vent estoit contraire, fusmes à un hable, que nous nommasmes le *Hable du Saint Esprit*, jusques au Mardi qu'appareillâmes du dit Hable et reconneumes la dite côte jusques aux *Isles de Saint Pierre*. Lequel chemin faisans, tournâmes le long de la dite côte plusieurs *Isles* et basses fort dangereuses estant en la route d'Est Su-Est, et Ouest Nor-Ouest, à deux, trois et quatre lieuës à la mer. Nous fusmes aux dites *Isles Saint Pierre*, où trouvâmes plusieurs Navires tant de France que de Bretagne."

III.—From the Edition Originale rarissime de 1545, reprinted by Tross in 1863, Paris, with a learned preface and notes by M. d'Avezac.

"Le ieudi 26, iour dudict moys, iour et feste de l'ascétion nostre Seigneur, nous traversâmes à vne terre et sablo de basses araynes, qui demeurent au Suro-naist de ladicte yslle de Bryon environ huit lieues. Pardessus lesquelles y a de grosses terres plaines d'arbres et y a une mer enclose dont n'avons veu aucune entrée ny ouverture pour entrer en icelle. Et le vendredy, 27, parce que le vent changeoit à la coste, retournâmes à ladicte yslle de Bryon, ou feusmes iusques au premier iour de Iuing et vinsmes quérir vne terre haulte qui demeure au Suest de ladicte yslle, qui nous apparoissoit estre vne yslle, et la reengeâmes environ deux lieues et demye, faisant lequel chemin eusmes congnoissance de trois haultes ysles qui demeurent vers les Araynes. Après lesquelles choses congneues retournâmes au cap de ladicte terre qui se fait à deux ou trois caps haultz à merueilles, et grand parfond d'eau et la marée si courante, qu'il n'est possible de plus.

"Nous arriuâmes celluy iour au cap de Lorraine, qui est en 46 degrez $\frac{1}{2}$ au Su, duquel cap y a vne basse terre et semblant d'entrée de rivière: mais il n'y a hable que vaille. Parsus lesquelles terres vers le Su, veismes vng aultre cap de terre que nous nommasmes le cap de Saint Paul, qui est en 47 degrez $\frac{1}{4}$.

"Le dimenche, 4 iour dudict moys, iour et feste de la Pentecoste, feumes congnoissance de la coste Dest Suest de terre neufue, qui estoit à enuiron vingt-deux lieues du cap, et pource que le vent estoit contraire, feusmes a vng hable que nous nommasmes le hable de saint esperit, iusques au mardi que appareillâmes dudict hable et reengeâmes ladicte coste iusques aux ysles Saint Pierre, lequel chemin faisant trouvâmes le long de ladicte coste plusieurs ysles et basses fort dangereufes estans en la routte Dest, Suest et Ouaist, Noronaist à vne, vingt-trois lieues à la mer. Nous feusmes esdictes ysles saint Pierre, où trouvâmes plusieurs nauires, tant de France que de Bretagne."

These three versions of the conclusion of Cartier's second voyage vary in minute details, which become important, when we endeavour to indicate the exact course taken by the adventurous sailor of St Malo. On the whole, narrative No. 2, published by the Quebec Hist. & Lit. Soc., appears the best for forming a conclusion on the points at issue. At least, one with a knowledge of the northern coast of Cape Breton, can identify some of the leading features of the gulf and island referred to in the account. Brion's Island still bears the same name, and the islands lying towards the sands appear to be the Magdalens, which have many sand-flats around them. Cape Breton lies to the south-east of Brion and the Magdalens. The northern part of Cape Breton is divided into several lofty heights, one of which is remarkable for its sugar-loaf aspect. Indeed, approaching this grand coast from the northwest, there is an appearance of three capes, one of which, however, disappears as we draw close to the land. The headland Cartier saw, was, no doubt, the present North Cape. The water is remarkably deep, and the currents powerful to the north of Cape Breton, especially when the winds sweep up through the Gut of Canseau. The low land Cartier saw to the south of Cape Loreine, was probably the neck which connects Cape North with the main. No harbours of importance are found on the coast, until we get to St. Anne's noble bay. The voyagers may have mistaken the many barachois, or salt water ponds, that are distinguishing features of Aspé Bay, immediately south of the northern promontory, for the mouth of a river. The cape towards the south of Loreine, was in all likelihood, one on the east coast of Cape Breton. Versions 2 and 3, agree as to the degrees of latitude, but not with those in Hakluyt. If we accept the latter as approximately correct, and make due allowances for the relatively inaccurate marine observations of those days, we may conclude that Cape St. Pauls may have been the headland known as Aspé, or Egmont,—the southern promontory of Aspé Bay. A foot note to the second version by the editor, gives

this cape as probable. But the distance between the two capes of Cartier, would make it a cape further to the south, and it may have been the cloud-wrapped height of Cape Enfumé, one of the most prominent points of Cape Breton, visible for thirty and forty miles from sea on a clear day. All depends on the exact position of Cartier's vessel at the time he sighted the second cape, but the data before us are too vague to enable us to speak positively. The degrees of latitude given in the French versions, we cite above, are not reconcilable with the course Cartier took on leaving the Magdalens. Discrepancies, no doubt, crept into the various accounts of the voyages, and it is only by careful comparison of one with the other, that we can make the data of the narrative of Cape Breton harmonize with present geographical features of the island. It is a mistake, I believe, to take it as a matter of course that Loreine, or Lorraine was St. Lawrence Cape from the mere similarity of name. L'Escarbot's and Champlain's maps of 1609 and 1612 have very likely assisted in perpetuating an error. Both these writers, in order to give Cartier's names to places in the gulf, actually place St. Pauls on an islet to the south of Cape Loran, or the present (presumably) Cape North. L'Escarbot also gives a Cape Loraine on the southwestern coast of Newfoundland, and that is how Brown has probably been mislead. Neither L'Escarbot nor Champlain ever visited northern Cape Breton previous to 1612, and their early maps were largely tentative. In Champlain's later map of 1632, however, he corrects his mistake with a better knowledge of Cape Breton and its coasts, and places the rocky islet of St. Paul to the northeast of Cape North—its correct position. Brown evidently had not the advantage of studying the several accounts of the voyage, or he would not have made the mistake of supposing that Cartier first made Cape Ray, in Newfoundland, (Lorraine in Brown) and then went towards Cape Breton, and named Cape St. Paul's, (Cape North in Brown) when it is quite clear that his course was from the Magdalens to the northern capes of the island, and thence to the Newfoundland coast. Here Hakluyt's version is perplexing, for it says that Cartier (see *supra*) had "notice of the coast lying east southeast distant from the Newfoundland about 27 leagues." But the French versions (which see) make the course clear when we read that after leaving the capes of Cape Breton "we had knowledge of the east southeast coast of Newfoundland, about 27 leagues from the said cape" (St. Pauls). In this way by reconciling certain little discrepancies in the several narratives, and making changes in the punctuation, we can make Cartier's course perfectly intelligible from the time he left the "islands towards the sands" until he made the coast of Newfoundland, and found shelter in a little harbour which he named St. Esprit, and is believed to be either Port aux Basques or Lapoile. It is for these reasons I should read the narrative of Cartier's voyage, as follows; but let me say first, D'Avezac in his notes on the édition originale (see next page) also points out the necessity of comparing the several versions, and correcting obvious omissions, and errors that have occurred in the original editing or copying:—

"Après lesquelles choses connues retournasmes au cap de ladicte terre, qui se faict à deux ou trois caps haultz à merveilles et grand profond d'eau et la marée si courante, qu'il n'est possible de plus. Nous nommasmes celui cap le Cap de Lorraine qui est en $47\frac{1}{2}$ degrez, au su duquel cap y a une basse terre et semblant entrée de rivière: mais il n'y a hable que vaille. Parsus lesquelles terres vers le su nous veismes une aultre cap que nous nommasmes le cap de Sainct Paul, qui est en $47\frac{1}{4}$ degrez."

The remainder of the narrative is not material here, as I wish simply to make the references to Cape Breton clear and consistent. Without dwelling further on the subject, I shall only add, that with the appearance of Champlain's second map, St. Paul's cape disappeared from the coast of Cape Breton; and in the course of time, when the geography of the island was well known, and the existence of two large capes was well established, Loreine became St. Laurent and its name was transferred to the present Cape St. Lawrence, while Cape North was named anew.

The statement that appears in some early French writers that Cartier or Roberval erected a fort on the island of Cape Breton, in the year 1540 in most cases, is obviously an error. L'Escarbot (1609, ii. 391) says that Roberval and Cartier together erected a fort in the island—"a mere obiter dicta, and flatly contradicted by the only account of Roberval's voyage extant, with which probably neither Champlain nor Roberval was acquainted." (Pope, "Jacques Cartier," 125-126). Fournier in his "Hydrographie" (1667) and Charlevoix (1744, i. 31) and Mr. de la Chesnaye in a memoir of 1676 ("Quebec Doc." i. 245) make the statement of Roberval alone. Sir W. Alexander in his "Encouragement to Colonies" (1624, p. 15) says that Roberval lived "one winter at Cape Breton," but, as an authority ("Nar. & Crit. Hist. of Am." iv. 58 n.) says with truth, "his style is loose and by Cape Breton he probably meant Canada." Not a single modern historical writer attaches any importance to the assertion. Faillon (i. 43-44) is of opinion that L'Escarbot and other writers clearly did not know anything of Roberval's own account of his voyage. It is now admitted on all hands that Cape Breton was clearly a mistake for Cap Rouge. In 1542 Jean François de la Roche, Lord of Roberval, a gentleman of Picardy, who was named "the petty king of Vinieu" on account of his popularity in his province, built a fort (France Roy) at Cap Rouge by virtue of his commission as lieutenant and governor of Canada and Hochelaga. This fort "stood on that bold acclivity where Cartier had before entrenched himself, the St. Lawrence in front, and, on the right, the river of Cap Rouge," (Parkman, "Pioneers," 205.) Cartier's fort was erected by September 1541 in the same neighbourhood and was known as Charlesbourg royal. He

was in France from 6th July, 1536, until 23rd May, 1541. Roberval erected his fort in the summer of 1542 and remained on the St. Lawrence probably until some time in 1543, though De Costa ("Nar. & Crit. Hist. of Am., iv. 58) believes he left France in August, 1541. It is quite clear, however, that Roberval, like Cartier, was in France in 1540, the time mentioned by several writers as the date of the construction of the supposed fort in Cape Breton.

The narratives of the three voyages of Jacques Cartier are found in the following works:

L'Escarbot, "*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*" gives an account of the first voyage taken, according to the best authorities, from a French translation of Ramusio's narrative. It bore the title: "*Discours du voyage fait par le capitaine Jacques Cartier aux terres neuves de Canadas, Norembergue, Hochelage, Labrador, et pays adjacens, dite Nouvelle France, avec particulières meurs, langage, et cérémonies des habitants d'icelle*" (Raphael de Petit-val, librairie et imprimeur du Roi, Rouen, 1598, petit 8vo., 64 pp.) L'Escarbot's reproduction is not carefully made (Harrisse, 2.) It gives Cartier's commission of 1540. L'Escarbot's works have appeared in numerous editions at Paris, in 1609, 1611, 1612, 1617, 1618, and the Tross ed. of 1866 in 3 vols.

Hakluyt gives three accounts of the voyages. The first is taken from an English translation of Ramusio by John Florio: "*A Short and Briefe Narration of the two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northwest Partes called Newe France*," (London, 1580.) Hakluyt follows Ramusio also in the second voyage. The account of the third voyage is fragmentary and supplemented by a narrative of Roberval's voyage.

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in 1843, published a small volume containing: "*Voyages de Découverte au Canada entre les Années 1534 et 1542, par Jacques Cartier, le Sieur de Roberval, Jean Alphonse de Xanctoine, etc. Suivis de la description de Québec et de ses environs en 1608, et de divers extraits relativement au lieu de l'hivernement de Jacques Cartier en 1535-36, avec gravures facsimile.*" The account of the first voyage is from the Rouen translation of 1598, though L'Escarbot's want of exactness is not corrected. (D'Avezac, xv.) The account of the second voyage is taken from one of three manuscripts in the national library at Paris, its date being apparently that of the middle of the 16th century. (I notice these manuscripts in the next paragraph). The account of the third voyage is the fragment in Hakluyt.

The Paris publisher, Tross, printed in 1863, an account of the second voyage under the following title: "*Bref Récit et Succincte Narration de la navigation faite en MDXXXV et MDXXXVI par le Capitaine Jacques Cartier aux Isles de Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, et autres. Réimpression figurée de l'édition originale rarissime de MDXLV avec les variantes des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale précédée d'une brève et succincte introduction historique par M. d'Avezac.*" The only copy now known to be extant of the "bref récit" of 1545, here reprinted by Tross, is in the Grenville Collection of the British Museum. In the National Library at Paris, however, there are three copies in MSS. of this original narrative (Nos. 5589, 5644, and 5653), and it is the third of these that the Quebec Literary and Historical Society reproduced (pp. 24-69) in the collection just noticed, after having compared it with the two others, and with L'Escarbot and Ramusio. M. d'Avezac's historical introduction is excellent. His notes of variations in the three manuscripts are of great aid to the student.

Another narrative was published in 1867, as an original account of the voyage of 1534, though the date is given inaccurately as 1544—a circumstance not easily explained if it is Cartier's original account: "*Relation originale du voyage, de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534: Documents inédits sur Jacques Cartier et le Canada (nouvelle série) publiés par H. Michelant et A. Ramé, accompagnés de deux portraits de Cartier, et de deux vues de son manoir* (Paris, Tross, 1867).

For further facts on the bibliography of Cartier's voyages, see Harrisse (*Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, no. 5; Cabots, p. 79, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, no. 267), Sabin, (*Dictionary*, iii. no. 11,138). D'Avezac's introduction, (xv-xvii); "*Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.*," (iv. 63 *et seq.*) Warburton (*Conquest of Canada*) has for frontispiece in the first volume, an engraving of the original portrait of Cartier at St. Malo. It is also reproduced in Charlevoix, *Historie de la Nouvelle-France*. (Shea's ed., i. 110); Le Clercq's *Etablissement de la Foy* (Shea's ed.); Faillon's *Historie de la Colonie Française*, vol i.; Sulte's *Historie des Canadiens-Français, 1608-1880* (Montreal, 1882, vol. i). All follow the St. Malo copy. Two other portraits are given in the ed. of the first voyage, published by Tross in 1867.

One of the portraits and sketches of the manoir at Limoilou given in Michelant and Ramé's work are reproduced in "*Jacques Cartier: His Four [?] Voyages to Canada. An essay, with historical, explanatory and philological notes*," by H. B. Stephens, B.C.L. (Montreal, 1891, sm. 4to.). This is one of four essays that won the medals offered by Lieutenant-Governor Angers of Quebec for the best paper on "*Jacques Cartier and his Time*,"—the others being by Joseph Pope (whose monograph has been already mentioned); by Dr. N. E. Dionne of Quebec; and by Touon de Longrais, Rennes, France. Mr. Stephens's work is not, strictly speaking, an essay, but a series of translations of the voyages, with copious notes, which have some value for the uninstructed reader. He mentions the several editions of the voyages.

VIII. EXTRACTS FROM NARRATIVES OF EARLY VOYAGES TO CAPE BRETON.

(1). In Hakluyt's 'Discourse of Western Planting,' written in 1584, (vol. viii) reference is made to a visit paid to the coast of Cape Breton to 1583 by his friend Stephen Bellinger of Rouen, at the expense of the Cardinal de Bourbon. Bellinger found a town of eighty houses, covered with the bark of trees, upon a river's side about a hundred leagues southwest from the aforesaid Cape Breton. He reported that the country was of the temperature of Gascoigne and Lyuyann, and places it in Norembeque. It is obvious that he does not know that Cape Breton is an island, for he refers only to the promontory from which it is named. The river of which he speaks may be St. Mary's, in the present County of Guysboro, Nova Scotia.

(2). In 1594 Sylvester Wyet, a master mariner of Bristol, visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in the "Grace" of that town, a vessel of thirty-five tons. He anchored first in St. George's Bay, Newfoundland, where he found the wrecks of Biscayan ships, and then went on to the island of Anticosti, called Naticotec by the native Indians, and Assomption by Cartier. As Wyet was the first navigator who describes Cape Breton as an island, the following extract from his narrative, as given by Hakluyt (xiii. 60) will be read with interest.

"When we had dispatched our businesse in this Bay of S. George and stayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northern point of the said Bay, which is nine or ten leagues broade. Then being enformed, that the whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet escape the fisher for a time, are woont vsually to shoot themselves on shore on the Isle of Assumption, or Naticotec, which lieth in the very mouth of the great river that runneth vp to Canada, we shaped our course ouer to that long Isle of Naticotec, and wee found the distance of the way to the Estermost ende thereof to be about fourty foure leagues; and it standeth in the latitude of 49. Here wee arriued about the middest of Iune at the East end, and rode in eighteene fadome water, in faire white sand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaued a lyne ouerboorde and found wonderful faire and great Cod fish; we went also seuen of vs on shore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tell firre trees, and heard and sawe store of land and sea foules, and sawe the footing of diuers beastes in the sand when we were on shore. From the Easter end we went to the Norther side of the Island which we perceiued to be but narrow in respect of the length thereof. And after wee had searched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to haue found there, and missed of our purpose, we returned backe to the Southwarde, and were within one league of the Island of Penguin, which lyeth South from the Eastermost part of Naticotec some twelve leagues. From the Isle of Penguin wee shaped our course for Cape de Rey and had sight of the Island of Cape Briton; then returned wee by the Isles of Saint Pedro, and so came into the Bay of Placentia, and arriued in the Easterside thereof some ten leagues vp within the Bay among the fishermen of Saint Iohn de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threescores and odde sayles, whereof eight shippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well vsed and they wished heartily for peace between them and vs."

(3) In 1597 the Hopewell of London and the Chancewell of the same port, visited the eastern coast of the present Dominion of Canada under the respective commands of Charles Leigh, one of the owners, and of Stephen Van Herwick, a brother of the other owner. They visited the coast of Newfoundland, and then went on to Cape Breton of which they left the following interesting account, given in Hakluyt (viii, 62):

"The 14 of Iune we sent our boat on shore in a great bay vpon the Isle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arriued on the West side of the Isle of Menego, where we left some caskeno shore in a sandy bay, but could not tarry for foule whether. The 26 we cast anker in another bay vpon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we met with eight men of the Chancewell our consort in a shallope; who told vs that their ship was cast away vpon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eighteene leagues within the Cape, and vpon a rocke within a mile of the shore, vpon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoone: and that they had cleered their ship from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they presently did run her vp into a sandy bay, where she was no sooner come on ground, but presently after there came aboard many shallows with store of French men, who robbed and spoiled all they could lay hands on, pillaging the poore men euen to their very shirts, and vsing them in sauage maner: whereas they should rather as Christians haue aided them in that distresse. Which newes when we heard, we blessed God, who by his diuine prouidence and vnspeakeable mercy had not onely preserued all the men, but brought us thither so miraculously to ayd and comfort them. So presently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay: where was also one ship of Sibiburo, whose men that holpe to pillage the Chancewell were runne away into the woods. But the master thereof which had dealt very honestly with our men stayed in his ship, and came aboard of vs whom we vsed well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely such things as we coulde finde of our owne. And when we had dispatched our businesse, we gaue him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one shallop with mast, sailles, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ship. In recompense whereof he gaue vs two hogsheads of sider, one barrel of peaze, and 25 score of fish. The 29, betimes in the morning we departed from that road toward a great Biskaine, some 7 leagues off of 300 tun whose men dealt most doggedly with the Chancewells company. The same night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where the Biskaine was. The 30 betimes iin the morning we put into the harborow; and approaching nere their stage, we saw it vncouered, and so suspected the ship to be gone: whereupon we sent our pinnesse on shore with a dozen men, who when they came, found great store of fish on shore, but all the men were fled; neither could they perceiue whether the ship should be gone but as they thought to sea. This day about twelue of the clocke we tooke a Sauage's boat which our men pursued: but all the Sauages ran away into the woods, and our men brought their boat on board. The same day in the afternoone we brought our ship to anker in the harborow: and the same day we tooke three hogsheads and a halfe of traine, and some 300 of greene fish. Also in the euening three of the Sauages, whose boat we had, came vnto vs for their boat; to whom wa gaue coats and kniues, and restored them their boate again. The next day being the first of Iuly, the rest of the Sauages came vnto us, among whom was their king, whose name was Itarey, and their queene to whom also we gave coats and kniues, and other trifles. These Sauages called the harborow

Cibo [Sydney]. In this place are the greatest multitude of lobsters that euer we heard of: for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net aboue 140. The fourth of Iuly in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fifth we cast anker in a reasonable good harborow called New Port vnder an Island some eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the English port [Louisbourg]. At this place in pursuing certain shallops of a ship of Rochel, one of them came aboard, who told vs, that the Biskainer whom we sought was in the English port with two Biskainers more, and two ships of Rochel. Thereupon wee sent one of our men in the Rochellers shallop to parle with the admiral and others of our friends in the English port, requesting them ayd for the recouery of our things, which the other ship called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Master Iohannes de Harte, and Pilot Adame de Lauandote) had robbed from the Chancewell. To which they answered, that if we would come in vnto them in peace, they would assist vs what they might. This answer we had the sixth day: and the seuenth in the forenoone we arrived in the English port, and cast anker aloofe from the other ships: which done, I went aboard the Admirall, to desire the performance of his promise: who sent for Iohannes de Harte, who was contented to restore most of our things againe: whereupon I went aboard his ship to haue them restored. This day and the eighth I spent in procuring such things as they had robbed; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were brieft with them, and willed them either to restore vs the rest of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and also haue satisfaction for our victuals and merchandises which by their means were lost in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ship to goe neere vnto them. Whereupon their Admirall sent his boat aboard, and desired to speake with me: then I went aboard vnto him, and desired to haue our things with peace and quietnesse, preferring to make him and the Masters of the two ships of Rochel our vmpire, and what they should aduise I would stand vnto. Hereupon he went aboard the other ship to make peace; but they would heare no reason, neither yet condescend to restore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I desired that as I came in peace vnto them, they would so set me aboard my ship againe: which they denied to do, but most vniustly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our shallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboard: but so soon as she came to the Admirals ships side, his men entred, and took her away, detaining our men also as prisoners with vs. Then presently all the three Biskainers made toward our ship, which was not carelesse to get the winde of them all; and hauing by the mercy of God obtained the same, shee then stayed for them: but when they saw that they had lost their aduantage, they presently turned their course, making as great haste in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twice to goe aboard, but was still enforced backe by the two other Biskainers, who sought our lives so that in the end the Master of the Admirall was inforced to man his great boat to waft vs: and yet notwithstanding they bent a piece of great ordinance at vs: for we were to passe by them vnto our ship: but we rescued our shallop vnder our Masters great boat; and by that means passed in safety. The next morning being the tenth of the moneth, we purposed if the wind had serued our turne, to haue made them to repent their euill dealing, and to restore vs our owne againe, or els to haue suncke their ships if we could. But the winde serued not our turne for that purpose; but carried vs to sea: so that the same morning wee tooke our course toward the bay of S. Laurence in Newfoundland: where wee hoped to finde a Spanish ship, which, as we had intelligence, did fish at that place. The land of Cape Briton we found to be somewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the West end of it we saw the clouds lie lower than the hills: as we did also at Laurence in Newfoundland. The Easterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing so high land, as the West. We went on shore vpon it in fiue places: 1. At the bay where the Chancewell was cast away: 2. At Cibo: 3. At a little island between Cibo and the New port: 4. At the New port: and 5. At Port Ingles, or the English port."

Four well known editions have appeared since 1589 of Richard Hakluyt's "Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by sea or overland, &c." The first appeared in 1589 (George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, London. 1 vol. sm. folio) The second in 1598-99-1600 with the original suppressed expedition to Cadiz by Lord Essex, though it is wanting in some copies, (G. Bishop, R. Newberie and R. Barker, London, 3 vols. sm. fol. and 3 sm. folio in 2.) The third, in 1809-12, edited by R. H. Evans. (G. Woodfall, London, roy. 4to. 5 vols. The fourth, in 1885-90, edited by Edmund Goldsmid, F. R. H. S., (E. & G. Goldsmid, Edinburgh, 20 vols. roy. 8vo.) This new edition which is well printed and carefully edited, is based upon that of 1598-99-1600. Copies of the three first editions are now very rare and expensive. Quaritch in his most recent catalogue offers copies from £40 for the 2 ed. in 3 vols., sm. folio, to £14 for the Woodfall ed. (Nos. 191, 192, 193, 194, 195 in cat.) The Hakluyt Society of London, since its foundation in 1848 to 1888, have printed a number of the more valuable voyages. See Quaritch, No. 238, for a complete list of all the publications of the Society to 1888. The copy in the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa is the edition of 1599-1600. The references in these notes is to the Goldsmid edition, which I have compared with the original edition just named.

(4.) The following is Champlain's description of Cape Breton:

"Ceste isle du cap Breton est en forme triangulaire qui a 80 lieues de circuit, et est la plus-part terre montagneuse, toutesfois en quelques endroits agréable. Au milieu d'icelle y a une manière de lac [Labrador, now le Bras d'or] où la mer entre par le coste du nort quart du nordest, et du sud quart du suest, et y a quantité d'isles remplies, de grande nombre de gibier, et coquillages de plusieurs sortes, entre autres des huiustes qui ne sont de grande saveur. En ce lieu y a plusieurs ports et endroits où l'on fait pesche de poisson, scavoir le port aux Anglais [Louisbourg] distant du cap Breton environ deux a trois lieues: et l'autre Niganis 18 ou 20 lieues plus au nort. Les Portugais autrefois, voulurent habiter cet isle, et y passeient un hyver: mais la rigueur du temps et les froidures leur firent abandonner leur habitations." (Champlain, ii, 280. Also iv. 107.)

The best Canadian edition of Champlain's works is the following:

"Œuvres de Champlain, publiées sous le patronage de l'Université Laval. Par l'abbé C. H. Laverdière, Professeur d'histoire." (Quebec, 1870, 4 vols. 2 eds.) In this edition was printed for the first time the text of Champlain's first American voyage, 1509-1602. It is a monument to the spirit and patriotism not merely of Laval University and the Seminary of Quebec under whose patronage it was published, but of the publisher Geo. E.

Desbarats, well known in Canada for his encouragement of literary enterprise, too often without adequate reward. There is a perfect copy of the voyage of 1603 in the imperial library at Paris, and the edition of 1613 (Paris, Jean Berjon) is so rare that there are only ten copies in Canada, and of these the one in the library of the University of Laval is alone perfect, since it contains the great map, and the two imprints of the small map. Abbé Laverdière says (preface, iii) he himself paid 500 frs. at Paris for a copy. Quaritch prices one (No. 75), which has only a facsimile of the large map and is otherwise imperfect, at £16. The edition of 1632 (Paris, Claude Collet) is priced by him at £52.10 (No. 752), and another with a new title page at £50 (No. 754). Dufossé prices two copies in his possession—one of 1620 (Paris, Claude Collet) at 1000 frs.; the other of 1632 at 450 frs. (Nos. 40974 and 40675). The Prince society of Boston published in 1878-80 a small edition of 250 copies, translated by Ch. Pomeroy Otis, with a memoir by Rev E. F. Slafter. The parliamentary library at Ottawa has copies of the edition of 1613, Jean Berjon, 4to.; of 1627, Claude Collet, 12mo.; of 1632, Em. Souvestre, 4to.; of 1640 in 4to., Claude Collet, same as that of 1632 with only a fresh title; of 1830, in Quebec, 2 vols. 8vo.—which is not reliable, as it was printed hastily to make work for printers—and the Laverdière ed. of 1870. The Abbé's notes give great value to the Quebec edition, whose only defect is the very brittle paper on which the maps are given, and the somewhat inferior artistic character of the illustrations in some cases compared with the originals. The "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." (iv. 119) gives Champlain's autograph and portrait from the Hamel painting after an old engraving by Moncornet. Sulte in "Histoire des Canadiens Français" vol. i, has another portrait, not very well executed, evidently from Roujat's woodcut. The portrait in the parliamentary buildings (speaker's chambers) at Ottawa is by Hamel, a copy from Moncornet. For bibliography of Champlain see an article by Mr. Slafter, author of the memoir in the Prince edition, in "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." iv. 130-134.

- (5.) Translation from Nicolas Denys's "Description des Costes de l'Amérique Septentrionale,"¹ vol. i, c. vi, which gives a description of the island of Cape Breton, its ports, harbours, rivers and adjacent islands, the nature of its land, its varieties of wood, its fisheries, hunting and all that it contains.

I return² to the island of Cape Breton before proceeding further. It is situated at a distance of ten leagues from Cape Campseaux; is eighty leagues in circumference, including the island of Ste. Marie,³ which is contiguous to it, and so situated that it forms two passages. One of these passages between the island and the mainland is called the entrance of the little strait of Campseaux, of which I have spoken above,⁴ and the other is a space of six leagues between it and the island of Cape Breton, by which one can go from the little strait of Campseaux to Fort St. Pierre. The voyage can be made only by boats or small vessels, but care must be taken in the channel of the little strait. Proceeding along the shores of the island of Ste. Marie we find outside, three leagues away, a little round island named Isle Verte,⁵ and to reach there you must keep off to sea. The coast is lined with rocks which stretch well into the sea for a league, and on which a good many vessels have been lost. It is necessary to leave this island to the right to enter the bay of St. Pierre, where we can anchor some little distance off a point of sand. Ships cannot approach closer to St. Pierre than at a distance of three leagues, but small vessels can come nearer, though it is necessary to know the winding channel, besides the situation of many rocks which do not show themselves. The fort is built at the foot of a mountain, almost perpendicular, and it is difficult to climb this coast. There we find on the top a pond which is fed by several springs. The high land declines towards Labrador for eight or nine hundred paces of distance, and on the other side of the entrance descends for about five hundred paces to a little bay or creek where a river flows, and many small fish,⁶ like a gudgeon, of excellent flavour, are caught in winter. On the top of the mountain there is excellent land and a number of fine trees. It is here I made a clearing, and had eighty acres of land in cultivation every year before the occurrence of the fire which burned me out.

The stretch of land at the foot of the mountain, where the fort is situated, is more than ten leagues long, but there are no trees there except spruce, and the land is not worth much until we come to a little river, where we find good land and a salmon fishery, besides some wild meadows. It is not difficult to carry goods towards the Labrador, which is an expanse of sea cutting the island of Cape Breton in two, except for the eight hundred paces or so of land which stretches from the Fort St. Pierre to the foot of the sea of Labrador, which forms a kind of gulf, with its entrance on the east of the island and its termination in the direction of the fort. I have made a road in this space⁶ to bring my shallops from one sea to the other, and to avoid the circuit which would have to be made by water. The tide comes up to the bottom of the gulf, of which the length is twenty leagues from its entrance to within eight hundred paces of the fort, where it ends. When it is full tide in Labrador it is low water on the other side opposite the fort. The opening of this little sea of Labrador is at the east, exactly on the opposite side. The reason for the difference in tide is the fact that the bay of St. Pierre has its mouth directly on the west, added to the circumstance that it is never high tide in a harbour that the moon is not directly facing the entrance of the harbour, either above or below the horizon. In Labrador there is a great basin or lake of eight leagues in length and five in width, with little bays or creeks on each side, which stretch into the land. All around Labrador there

¹ See *infra*, App. IX, for a reference to Denys's "Work on America."

² The previous chapters of the work had been devoted to a description of Acadie, and after his account of Cape Breton in the present chapter he goes on to refer to the country on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Baie des Chaleurs, etc.

³ Isle Madame. His description of the various localities, it will be seen in this chapter, are very vague. His knowledge of the island was chiefly confined to St. Peter's, the Labrador and St. Anne.

⁴ He had just described the coast of eastern Acadie from Campseaux to beyond Antigonishe, which he calls Articougneshche.

⁵ Now called St. Peter's Island,

⁶ Probably smelts,

⁷ St. Peter's isthmus now cut by a ship canal.

are heights in which we find quantities of plaister in some places. The land is not very good, although the mountains are covered with trees, chiefly consisting of pines, spruce and a few oaks and beeches. The fishing is not good, for we find chiefly oysters, which are not of the best flavour, on account of their freshness when they are first dragged up, but they can be kept eight or ten days with their juice, and then when they are salted they lose that sickly taste which arises from the fresh water of the rivers at the mouth of which they are taken.

Leaving the port of St. Pierre by way of Campseaux to make a tour of the island in an easterly direction we come first to Ile Verte, and next to the rocks known as Isles Michaur,¹ some three leagues off, where the codfishery is excellent. Thence to the English harbour² is a distance of ten leagues, mostly of rocky coast. At the entrance of the port there is an island³ which must be kept well on the left, but once inside ships are safe, as the anchorage is good. The land is mostly high and rocky, and at the bottom of the harbour is a pond⁴ where one may catch a great number of eels. The codfishery in this locality is good. The Olonnois⁵ formerly came here to winter that they might be the first on the grand bank for the catch of green cod, and the first to return to France, as such fish sells best when it is quite fresh. Three leagues further east is the port of Baleine, which is still a good harbour despite its difficulty of access on account of the number of rocks. We next reach the Fourillon,⁶ which is behind Cape Breton. This cape is only an island,⁷ and the part of the island which bears this name lies towards the southeast, and is only a collection of rocks behind which vessels sometimes find shelter while they catch the fish, which are exceedingly plentiful here. All the land of this part of the country is poor, although there are some fine trees on the hills, like beech, birch, a few pines, and plenty of spruce. Going on further we come to Spanish River,⁸ in the entrance of which vessels can lie quite securely. A mountain of excellent coal is found four leagues up the river, and the land is for the most part pretty good. One side is covered with beech, birch, maple, ash and some kinds of oak, besides pine and spruce. From the sources of this river we can cross over to the Labrador,⁹ passing on the way at least three leagues of wood. Leaving Spanish river to enter Labrador we find for a distance of three leagues many rocks, at the end of which is the entrance of little Cibou or Labrador, where there is a good deal of coal. At this point commences a great bay which comes close to Inganiche; it is eight or ten leagues broad; inside there are many rocks where the cormorants make their nests. Beyond these rocks on the right is Great Cibou, which is the entrance of the harbour of St. Anne, which is good and spacious.¹⁰ Its entrance is between two points and has not a hundred paces of width. Vessels of three or four hundred tons can enter at all tides; the anchorage is good, and when the cable parts the vessel finds itself only in the mud. The harbour will hold a thousand vessels, the basin is surrounded by mountains, the rocks are very high, ships can put their bowsprit on the land at the right side of the entrance; that is to say, in entering they can approach the land so close that the jibboom of the bowsprit can touch the rocks, which are quite steep. Some small rivers and brooks fall into the harbour from the surrounding mountains. At the bottom of the harbour there is a mountain as white as milk and as hard as marble. In another place there is some land full of pebbles of all colours. Some stones of considerable size have fallen on the shores, and although the sea beats against them continuously they appear to harden so much, both in the air and water, that tools make little or no impression upon them—a fact that makes me believe that they will look as handsome as polished marble, or as the white rock of which I have just spoken, if any one should make the experiment. Salmon are caught in the harbour; mackerel, which are also plentiful and sometimes of great size, can be taken with the line at the entrance. There is a point of sand where one can find a great many shells. At the base of the mountain there are some ponds where we find numbers of bustards, ducks and other game, which offer abundant sport.

On the way to Inganiche we pass eight leagues of coast remarkable for its high rocks, as steep as a wall. If a vessel should be lost there no one would be saved, for Inganiche, which is about two leagues from the point, would afford little security, since it is little better than a roadstead lying between islands¹¹ which are somewhat in the offing opposite a small sandy bay. Vessels anchor here between the islands and the land. Sometimes you see three ships there, but they are not safe. Nevertheless it is a locality which is first made on this coast, because the fishing is good and the fish take the hook readily. From the Fourillon or Cape Breton it is perhaps from eighteen to twenty leagues as far as Inganiche, and thence to Cape North five or six leagues by a very rocky coast. At Cape North there is room for a vessel to fish, and from the cape to Chadye¹² the distance is about fifteen or sixteen leagues. All the coast in this direction is extremely rocky and covered with spruce, mixed with a few small beech. We see on this dangerous coast a few sandy coves and little bays where a shallop can hardly find shelter. Chadye is a big bay about two leagues deep, at the foot of which is a sandy beach full of pebbles that the sea has worn, and behind it is a pond of salt water. This bay is surrounded by rocks on the two sides. We find plenty of cod in this locality to attract vessels, although they run much risk from want of sufficient shelter in case of storms.

Continuing the voyage along the coast, which is rocky and steep for four leagues, we came to a little island opposite a little sandy bay where shallops can find shelter. In this bay there is a mountain of black stone, which carpenters use to mark their work. It is hard and not of the best quality. We then pass about eight leagues of coast until we find lower land and flats covered with all sorts of wood like ash, beech, birch, maple, pine and

¹ Now the Basque islands, off Michaux Point; the same name was applied to those islands in Denys's time.

² Louisbourg.

³ Goat Island, where the French had a battery to defend the entrance of the harbour when Louisbourg was founded.

⁴ Reference is here made to the barachois at the southwestern part of the harbour, close to the town of Louisbourg.

⁵ The men of the Sables d'Olonne, famous for its sailors, are probably meant.

⁶ Forillon is a name applied to a large rock, split off the coast, as at Gaspé.

⁷ Brown, in his "History of Cape Breton" (p. 179), gives a description of this point which explains what Denys here tells us: "If a vessel is bound for Louisbourg, steering westerly with Scatari on the starboard, she will run close past a large rock covered with waving grass, elevated some fifty feet above the level of the sea, called Port Nova [Porto Novo] Island, which is connected by a reef of sunken rocks, with a low point about a mile to the northward. . . . This is the very cape from which the island is named."

⁸ Sydney Harbour.

⁹ The East Bay of the Labrador—a beautiful inlet of the lake.

¹⁰ His description of St. Anne is necessarily more accurate and full than that of other ports and bays on the eastern coast, since he had personal knowledge of it.

¹¹ He must refer to Inganiche Island.

¹² He refers probably to Cheticamp, but his description of the northwest coast of Cape Breton is too vague—obviously made up from mere rumour—to enable us to identify the localities with any degree of exactness.

spruce, but none are of the best quality. Then we enter a little river where shallops go and catch salmon. Here we see a coal mine, and I am told plaister¹ is also abundant, but I have not found it. The wood in this river is good and the land is not mountainous. From the mouth of this small river to the entrance of the little passage of Campseaux, on the north side, there is only a distance of three leagues, and thence to the other entrance on the south side, about ten leagues, where I commenced the voyage, and now end it after having made the circuit of the island. The total distance around is generally given at eighty leagues; both the coast and the interior are remarkable for their rocky and mountainous character, but the fine bays and harbours which vessels can frequent with safety give the island great value for carrying on the fisheries. Mackerel and herring are abundant around the coast, and fishermen can find plenty of bait for catching codfish, which are very plentiful. Cape Breton has also been famous for moose, which were found in great quantities, but at present there are none,² as the savages have destroyed them all, and have mostly abandoned the island since it does not give them sufficient game to live on. I do not mean to say that there is not still in the island various kinds of game in abundance, but there are not the kinds the Indians prefer. Besides it costs them too much for powder and lead, for with the one shot with which they can bring down a large animal like a moose they will only kill a bustard or two, sometimes three, and these are not sufficient to satisfy the gross appetite of themselves and families.

IX. FRENCH SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON CAPE BRETON AND LOUISBOURG.

We find an interesting description of the fisheries, resources and natural features of Cape Breton in the work published by Nicholas Denys, who was made governor and lieutenant-general of the French king "throughout the country, territory, coasts and borders of the great bay of St. Lawrence from Cape Canceau up to Cape Rosiers, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, St. John and other adjacent islands, in order to re-establish our dominion." After his failure to sustain his rights in this wide territory, he devoted the close of his life to describe the country where he had lived for about forty years. This book bears the elaborate title, "*Description Géographique et Historique des Costes de l'Amérique Septentrionale, avec l'Histoire Naturelle du País. Par Monsieur Denys, Gouverneur, Lieutenant-Général pour le Roy, et propriétaire de toutes les Terres et Isles qui sont depuis le Cap du Campseaux jusque au Cap des Rosiers. Tome I. À Paris, chez Louis Billaine, au second pillier de la Grand' Salle du Palais, à la Palme et au grand César. 1672. 16mo., pp. 267.*" The second volume is entitled: "*Histoire Naturelle des Peuples, des Animaux, des Arbres et Plantes de l'Amérique Septentrionale, et de ses divers Climates. Avec une description exacte de la Pesche des Molues, tant sur le Grand Banc qu'à la Coste, et de tout de ce qui s'y pratique de plus particulier, etc. Par Monsieur Denys, Gouverneur, Lieutenant-Général pour le Roy, & Propriétaire de Toutes les Terres & Isles qui sont depuis le Cap de Campseaux jusques au Cap des Roziers. Tome second. À Paris, chez Louis Billaine, au second pillier de la Grand' Salle du Palais, à la Palme et au Grand César. 1672. 16mo., pp. 480.*"

This work is exceedingly rare and costly even in an imperfect form. A copy with the original map and two plates, which appear always in the second volume, and which Harris (Nos. 136, 137) could not find in any of the copies he examined, is put at 900 francs in Dufossé's Catalogue (Paris) No. 51,038. Another, with admirable *facsimiles* of the original map and figures (in the possession of the present writer), cost 300 francs. Another (No. 51,039), with inferior *facsimiles* and two leaves in manuscript, is given at 150 francs. The same dealer offers *facsimiles* on old paper of the map and the illustrations simply—the latter relating to the codfisheries—at 25 francs. The copy in the library of the Canadian parliament is without the map. Harvard library has two copies—one with the imprint "Chez Louis Barbin," but without the original map; and also has a Dutch version of 1688. It seems Denys ceded his rights to both Billaine and Barbin (see "Extrait du Privilège du Roy" at end of first volume). Copies are also found in the library of Congress and in the Carter-Brown collection (see "Nar. & Crit. Hist. of Am.," iv. 153; "Carter-Brown Cat.," ii. 1,070; "Sabin," v. No. 19,615). Brown, in his "History of Cape Breton," gives a sketch of Cape Breton and of the eastern coast of Acadie (p. 103), taken from Denys's map. Brown says that it gives no place to Sydney harbour, though Denys describes it in the text, but it is obvious that Sydney is named in the map "La R. Denys," which, in these later times, is a river in the northwestern section running into the upper part of the Bras d'Or Lake. The map on the whole is accurate wherever Denys had special knowledge of the country. While his merit as a historian is doubtful, his description of the places he visited has some value. Charlevoix says that "he tells nothing but what he saw himself." See "Charlevoix," ii. 195 *et seq.*, for an account of Denys, "whose departure from Cape Breton was a great misfortune for this part of New France, which never had a more capable or energetic head." P. S. Hamilton has in the Toronto 'Week' (Dec. 18, 1891) a sketch of Denys's life, but he gives no new facts relative to his career, and incorrectly calls him St. Denys.

¹ Denys had a right to levy a tax on all coal and plaister found within the limits of his grant. He may speak here of the place called Plaister Cove. The little river must be the Marguerite, always famous for salmon, but it is not a small stream. He was, however, ignorant of this section of the island and speaks only by report. His distances, it is evident, are generally mere estimates.

² He refers to those parts of the island with which he was personally acquainted. It is only within half a century or so that the moose has nearly disappeared from the northern parts of the island, where, for a century and a half after Denys's time, it was found in great numbers. Haliburton ["Hist. of N. S.," ii. 243] speaks of it as still inhabiting the recesses of the forest, "though in diminished numbers," in 1829.

"Lettres et Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Cape Breton" (à la Haye, 1760), is the only early work, after that of Denys, that gives a detailed description of the bays, harbours, resources, commerce, government and general condition of the island as it appeared to the author from 1751 to 1753, when Count de Raymond was governor. It also includes a description of the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island) and of the habits of the Indians. A large portion of the work, which is in the form of a series of letters, contains reflections on the cause and origin of the Seven Years' War, a statement of the French grievances against the English, a relation of the taking of the Alcide and the Lys and of the surrender of Fort Beauséjour, and an account of the siege of 1758. It concludes with "a conversation between an Englishman of merit and the author on the importance of Cape Breton to both powers." A translation of the work, now before me, was published in London, 1760, for J. Nourse, in the Strand, under the title, "Memoirs relating to the Natural, Civil and Commercial History of the Islands of Cape Breton and Saint John, from the first settlement there to the taking of Louisbourg by the English in 1758. By an Impartial Frenchman. Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat. Translated from the Author's original manuscript." He has an "epistle dedicatory" (épître dédicatoire) "offered to the four illustrious personages who shared the honour of this glorious and important conquest." These are "the able minister who formed the plan," William Pitt; "the respectable director of the board of trade and plantations," Lord Halifax (see Bancroft's "United States," ii. 471); "the admiral and general who displayed such conduct and bravery in the execution," Boscawen and Amherst. The author was Thomas Pichon, alias Thomas Signis Tyrrell—his mother's name—a native of old France, who was brought up at Marseilles, and studied medicine in his early youth. From an interesting note by Dr. Akins in his "Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia" (p. 229), we learn that Pichon "possessed considerable classical attainments, and having been employed as tutor in the family of a nobleman, obtained through his interest an appointment of inspector of hospitals in Bohemia in 1743. While in that country he became acquainted with Count Raymond. When the count was made governor at Louisbourg, in the Ile Royale (now Cape Breton), Pichon went with him as his secretary, and held that situation from 1751 to 1753. He was then transferred to Fort Beauséjour (Chignecto) as a commissary of stores. Having become known to Captain Scott, the commandant of the English fort on the isthmus, he entered into a secret correspondence with Scott, Hussey, etc., the British officers in charge of the English forts, and furnished them with all possible information as to the movements of Le Loutre, the state of the garrison of Beauséjour, etc., until the capture of the forts in 1755. Pichon was made (ostensibly) a prisoner with the rest of the garrison. He was brought first to Pisiquid (Windsor), and then to Halifax. There he was apparently a prisoner on parole, and under the surveillance of Mr. Archibald Hinshelwood, one of the officers of government. Pichon, while in Halifax, made intimacy with French prisoners of rank detained there, and reported their plans and conversations to the Halifax government. He received money and articles of dress, etc., which he requested from the English commandants in exchange for his information. In 1758 he went to London, where he resided until his death in 1781. He wrote a book on Cape Breton and St. John Island (P. E. Island), containing accurate descriptions of the Indians and other valuable information. This work was published anonymously in English and in French, in London, 1760, and in Paris in 1761. He claimed the name of Tyrrell, as that of his mother's family." MS. vol. entitled "Tyrrell Papers," N. S. Archives; Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," vol. ii, pp. 261, 272, etc.

The "Biographie Universelle" gives us more information respecting M. Pichon, which does not appear in the foregoing account. He married Madame le Prince de Beaumont in 1756, but did not live happily with her. He died in London, where he engaged in literary pursuits, though the only work of his which appears to have been printed, was the one on Cape Breton. It appears that he was "of a suspicious character, which rendered him fanciful and capricious." He left a fine library to his native town of Vire.

"Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France avec le Journal Historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale. Par le P. de Charlevoix, de la Compagnie de Jésus." The edition used in the text of this work was published in six volumes at Paris in 1744. The 4th volume contains Bellin's map and plans of Louisbourg and Port Dauphin, (St. Anne) and his map of Cape Breton, besides an excellent, though brief description of the island (pp. 124-142). It is not necessary to say that the famous old Père's account of Cape Breton is characterised by his usual clearness of style and accuracy of statement.

"Collection de Manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires, et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle France recueillis aux Archives de la Province de Quebec ou copiés à l'étranger" (1883-1885, Quebec, 4 vols.). In this valuable collection of documents, arranged and published under the authority of the legislature of Quebec, there are a number of commissions, memorandums and letters relating to Cape Breton. The most important are the following:—

1. Commission of Nicholas Denys, governor of Acadia, as far as Virginia. i. 141-144.
2. Several letters respecting the evacuation of Plaisance, and the establishment of the new colony in "Ile Royale," commonly called Cape Breton. ii. 559, 560, 565, 566.

3. Capitulation of Canseau in 1744, iii. 201, 202.

4. Papers relating to the siege of 1745, including :—Correspondence between Duchambon and Pepperrell, and Warren during the siege; articles of capitulation; report of the Council of War, with respect to the surrender of the town; letter of M. Duchambon to the French minister, under date of 2nd September, 1745, giving his official account of the siege and surrender of Louisbourg, in accordance with instructions sent him. iii. 220-257.

5. Royal ordinance of the first of November, 1745, providing for the trial of the French soldiers who took part in the revolt at Louisbourg, in the month of December, 1744. At the foot of the ordinance there is the mem: "By a letter from Mr. Karrer, commanding the Swiss regiment, under date of December 11; a sergeant had his head cut off, a corporal and a soldier were hanged, and others condemned to various punishments." iii. 262.

6. A short account of what passed at Cape Breton, from the beginning of the last war until the taking of Louisbourg by the English, in 1758. iii. 465-486. [A misprint is here corrected of 1748 for 1758].

The writer of this interesting memoir commences by stating that he had served at Ile Royale from 1750 until 1758 and then proceeds to relate "the most memorable events that happened there during the war with the same truth and impartiality" that he had observed with regard to his other campaigns. He is certainly very frank in his statements, and gives us some insight into the mismanagement and peculation that long prevailed at Louisbourg. He is the first writer who speaks favourably of the soil of the island, and its adaptability "for yielding rich harvests of all kinds of grain if cultivated." But, he tells us, that "it would not have been for the interest of the intendant that the island should produce the necessary subsistence of its inhabitants, as the means of their heaping up riches proceeds from the immense number of ships sent yearly from France loaded with flour and salt provisions which they embezzle (from France) for their profit, and often pass them twice in Consumption." "This employment," he adds, "is the utter ruin of the French colonies and the hindrance of their flourishing population, as in the British establishments, by their Tyranny and Robberies." Speaking of M. Franquet "Engineer brigadier general," he says that he "was sent to Louisbourg in 1750 as directeur-general of the fortifications. He passed "several years there, raising plans, forming projects, concluding nothing and consequently nothing executing." He lived "in good friendship and harmony with Prévost the intendant, enjoying a very great salary and undoubtedly sharing together the spoils." He gives many details of the siege of 1758, and shows the superficial character of the work performed on the fortifications by Prévost and Franquet "who had drawn M. Drucour, governor of Ile Royale, in their cabal, a brave but very weak and ignorant man in the art of war." He does full justice to the bravery of Vauquelain, commander of the Aréthuse, and has only words of contempt for the officers of the fleet. Franquet's head, he informs us, "turned upon his arrival in France and he died a few weeks after of chagrin. The intendant Prévost, "one of the greatest rascals that ever escaped the gibbet," was confined in the Bastille after his arrival in Paris, but his influence and money soon liberated him, and he was afterwards employed as Intendant at L'Orient. The same writer is also authority for the statement, "that unfortunate hero Vauclin [Vauquelain] who having commanded a frigate during two years at the island of Bourbon and France, with the usual distinguished and remarkable good conduct, on his return to France by the unjust ill treatment which he received from M. Boynes in 1773 [1760?], the then Minister of Marine, he shot himself through the head." The same officer was in command of the French frigates that assisted Lévis in his efforts to regain Quebec in 1760, and distinguished himself on that occasion. The *Moniteur de la Flotte* in 1857 states that he was treated shamefully on his return to France, and that despite his efforts to obtain justice he died in prison in 1763 without being brought to trial. Some authors even say that he was assassinated in prison, but the *Moniteur* does not consider the fact proved, (See Garneau, "Histoire du Canada," ii. 369, *n.*) As I shall presently show from the latest authority, these statements are not correct as to the place of his death.

The author of the memoir just cited is believed to be the Chevalier Johnstone, a Scotch Jacobite, who is supposed to have written it some years after his return to France from Canada. The original document is deposited in the French war archives in Paris, and a copy was first made in 1855 and placed in the Library of the Legislative Assembly at Quebec. Johnstone whose life was full of remarkable interest served in America from 1748 until 1759-60, when he acted as aide-de-camp to Chevalier de Lévis. His memoir, incorrectly written, but obviously truthful in the main details was published some years ago with other valuable documents by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, (See an interesting note with respect to the memoir written by Mr. J. M. Lemoine, "Quebec Lit. and Hist. Society's Doc." 2nd Ser. 1866-7.) The same Society also published two other documents attributed to Johnstone: One "a dialogue in Hades, a parallel of military errors of which the French and English armies were guilty, during the campaign of 1759 in Canada" The other relates to "the Campaign of 1760 in Canada: a Sequel." In the course of this last paper Johnstone gives an account of Vauquelain's brave defence of his frigate *l'Atalante* in 1760 against the English "who treated him with the regard which bravery can claim at the hands of a generous enemy. It is added that the English Admiral had so great a consideration for him that he sent him to France in an English vessel. "This noble and generous behaviour" says the writer, "did

honour to their nation, by rendering justice to, and discerning the merit of an enemy, far beyond what Vauquelain met with from Berryer the Secretary of the Navy, on his arrival in France" This memoir seems inconsistent with the one above referring to Louisbourg, in which M. Vauquelain is said to have been ill-treated by M. Boynes (or de Borgues as it is given in 'Quebec Society's Trans.'), minister of marine in 1773. Both names and dates are different. On reference, however, to the memoirs, as copied in the "Quebec Documents (iv. 245-265) a note is appended, which does not appear in the version as it is printed by the Quebec Historical Society. This note is obviously appended by the author of the memoir, who speaks of Berryer as "an insolent scoundrel." It would seem then that the Boynes of the first memoir is a misprint of the copyist for Berryer. The Quebec Society and the Quebec Government have obviously published their versions from the same copy deposited in the Legislative Library of Quebec. Berryer was, in fact, minister of marine from 1758 to Oct. 1761, when Vauquelain was in France. (See *Extraits des Archives du Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies*, "Quebec Doc." 1890, p. 8).

M. Faucher de Saint Maurice, in a paper read in 1885 before the Roy. Soc. of Can. (Trans. iii. sec. 1) on "Un des Oubliés de Notre Histoire" gives an account of Vauquelain's career, derived from authentic sources. It appears that Berryer treated him with neglect when he returned to France in 1760 because he was not a noble, but subsequently M. de Praslin, while minister of marine, gave him an important mission to India, and it was on his return that he was thrown into prison when a new minister whose name is not given was in office. He was only detained for four months; and immediately on his release, while on his way to Versailles to give an account of his visit to India, he was shot by some unknown person. He was then only 37 years of age. His name is spelt in various ways both in French and English works and documents, but the writer just named states that the correct spelling is Vauquelain. Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," gives it as Vauquelin.

James Hannay in 'Stewart's Quarterly' for July 1868, (St. John, N. B.) reproduces the Chevalier's account of the siege, of the authorship of which he appeared to be ignorant, though it had been in the same year printed by the Quebec Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

The Quebec collection also contains the following documents, with respect to the second siege of Louisbourg:—

7. Memoir of M. Chevalier de Drucour on Louisbourg from 1754 to 1758; iv. 145-149. This is a brief account of the work done on the fortifications and outposts from 1754, and of the principal details of the siege of 1758. The complete narrative and journal of the siege by M. Drucour mentioned by Parkman and other authors, and in the "Can. Archives" (1887, ccxcxi) as "exceedingly interesting," is not given in the Quebec collection.

8. Letters from M. de St. Julien, who commanded the French troops at Kennington Cove (Cormorandière in the French plans) on the occasion of the English landing in 1758; iv. 159-161, 174-176, 193-195.

9. Letter of M. de la Houlière, king's lieutenant to the minister, 22nd June, 1758, referring briefly to the state of affairs at that date. Another from the same, 6th August, giving further details of the siege; iv. 162, 163, 176-186.

10. Number and condition of the officers and men of the French navy at Louisbourg, 30th July, 1758; iv. 196. These persons belonged to the vessels captured or destroyed during the siege.

11. Letter of M. Chevalier Desgouttes, brother of the officer commanding the French fleet in 1758; iv. 215-222. This letter was written on board the transport which carried the sick and wounded French officers and a number of other persons to France under instructions from Admiral Boscawen. It refers to the disposition of the inhabitants of Louisbourg, and of the officers and sailors of the fleet.

The annual reports on Canadian historical archives show what a large number of valuable documents bearing on the history of Cape Breton, and chiefly of Louisbourg, necessarily remain unknown in the Paris archives. M. Marmette, F.R.S.C., in the volume for 1887, gives an analysis of "La Correspondence Générale," which relates to Isle Royale and Ile St. Jean, and consists of forty-seven volumes in the Archives Coloniales de la Marine at Paris. This analysis takes up 110 pages of the volume, and extends from 1712 to 1758 inclusive. If Mr. Marmette's suggestions are carried out, and the Canadian Government grants a sum of money sufficient to copy all or the most valuable documents, much light will be thrown on the material and social condition of the residents of Louisbourg, and the principal settlements like Port Toulouse and Port Dauphin. We shall have to quote the Canadian archivist's words: "The details of the daily life of the stirring population—officials, officers, soldiers, fishermen and seamen—placed as sentinels at the entrance to the great river, between Canada and their distant motherland of France, a mother but too forgetful of her children beyond the seas." A few of these documents have been already printed in the collection of documents recently published by the Quebec Government, but the great bulk is unknown to the historical student. The following list will illustrate the value of these archives:—

1. Memorandum and plan indispensable in order to begin the fortifications of Louisbourg, 1714.
2. Memorandum about Ile Royale, with a sketch of the people and the establishments erected there, 1714.
3. Order on a memorandum by M. de Costebelle (governor), respecting disorders caused by the excessive number of taverns, 1716.
4. Order respecting the administration of justice in Ile Royale, 1717.

5. Order respecting the trade and fisheries of Ile Royale, of Cangeaux in Acadie and of Newfoundland.
6. Memorandum respecting the poor success of the efforts to induce the Acadians to emigrate to Ile Royale, 1717.
7. Unsigned memorandum respecting the benefit which would be derived from attracting the Roman Catholic Irish now living with the English in the neighbourhood of Ile Royale, towards the settlement of this portion, 1717.
8. List of the inhabitants engaged in fishing off Ile Royale, with the number of their boats, 1718.
9. M. de St. Ovide (governor), respecting the fortifications and the engineers, and the relations sustained with the English in Acadie, 1724.
10. Fishing and trade returns of the island in 1726.
11. The Company of La Boularderie for the opening up of Labrador (Bras d'Or) and Verderonne Island (Boularderie), 1732.
12. Police regulations respecting fishing and trading vessels at Louisbourg, 1732.
13. Ordinance respecting fishermen, 1733.
14. Statement of the lands granted in Louisbourg and Ile Royale. The harbour works. The fortifications and roads of Ile Royale. The public funds.
15. M. de St. Ovide to the minister informing him that the lighthouse light was kindled on the 1st of April, 1734, and was perfectly visible for six leagues out to sea, 1734.
16. Statement of the merchant vessels which have come to trade at Louisbourg from Canada, Martinique, and those that have been fitted out in the island as well for the unbroken voyage to Quebec as for the trade from port to port, in 1734.
17. Fishery and trade returns for 1736.
18. M. Verrier (engineer), on the condition of the work on the fortifications of Ile Royale, giving a description of Louisbourg at this period, 1736.
19. Critical condition of Ile Royale on account of the famine which reigns throughout the colony, 1737.
20. M. de la Boularderie and his establishment at Inganiche (Inganish), 1740.
21. Relations with the Indians of Ile Royale and vicinity, 1740.
22. Product of the fisheries in 1739. Trade carried on by the English at Ile Royale and Ile St. Jean. Naval works.
23. The news from Boston that the people are planning to reduce Louisbourg by famine, induce Duchambon and Bigot to ask the minister for an increase of the garrison. Duchambon was the king's lieutenant, in command on account of the death of the governor, Duquesnel. November 23rd, 1744.
24. Memorandum as to what remains to be done in order to complete the fortifications of Louisbourg. Feb. 8th, 1745.
25. Importance of Cape Breton to the English, as shown by the product of the French fisheries, 1748.
26. M. des Herbiere (governor), on the military buildings erected by the English at Louisbourg. French families which have remained at that place, 1749.
27. Letter respecting trade and fisheries, 1750.
28. M. Prévost (intendant) to minister, showing that the total number of refugee Acadians on Ile Royale and Ile St. Jean in one year (1750) amounts to 2,200 souls, 1751.
29. M. de Raymond (governor) and M. Prevost (intendant), respecting the sad plight of Ile Royale and Ile St. Jean, owing to food having become scarce, 1752.
30. Memorandum on Ile Royale by M. de Raymond and his voyage to Canada, June 12, 1752.
31. General enumeration of residences, barracks, guardhouses, powder magazines and provision stores in Louisbourg, 1753. [See App. XVI to this work.]
32. M. Franquet (engineer), on the fortifications and the defence of Louisbourg; nine letters, from May 15 to Nov. 16, 1757.
33. M. Marchault de la Houlière, commander of the troops, gives details respecting the surrender of Louisbourg, July 28, 1758.
34. Details respecting the siege of Louisbourg by M. Ardibus.
35. Reflections upon Louisbourg, Plaisance and the codfishery, Sept. 16, 1758.
36. Unsigned letter to minister blaming the sailors, and especially M. Desgouttes (admiral), for their conduct during the siege of Louisbourg, and, on the other hand, bestowing praises on the land forces. Sept. 19, 1758. Written at Rochefort.
37. Some thirty letters, official for the most part, respecting the siege of 1758. Some, like Drucour's journal, have already been cited by Murdoch, Parkman and Brown.

M. Marmette says in his preface that there still remain to be examined and summarized in the Colonial Archives of the Marine at Paris 119 registers, nearly every one containing at least one cahier on Canada, Acadie,

Ile Royale; 6 volumes of civil status of Ile Royale and Ile St. Jean; 34 cartons, each containing two or three records relating to the superior council, the bailiwick, criminal proceedings, etc., of Louisbourg; and lastly, 16 cartons, containing each, at least, two notarial registers of Ile Royale and of Canada. One of the cartons cited by Marmette contains a number of plans, chiefly of Louisbourg, its fortifications and environs; also of Ile Royale, about 1723.

In the second volume of "*Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours*" par F. X. Garneau (4th ed. Montreal, 1882), Cape Breton obtains full recognition, on account of its importance after 1713, in relation to New France. Chapter iii, sixth book, (pp. 59-70) narrates its history from 1713 to 1744; chapter ii of the eighth book (pp. 169-189), the history of Louisbourg from 1744 to 1748; chapter iii of the ninth book (pp. 280-285), in part, the capture of Louisbourg in 1748. Garneau is always a French Canadian, inspired with the most decided partiality on the side of his countrymen, and consequently we must read his record of the old régime as that of a French historian. He gives no account of the siege operations of 1745, and contents himself with a meagre narration of the origin of the New England expedition, of the capture, and of its consequences. He devotes more space to the second siege, but he concludes by citing some words from a letter of General Wolfe to Major Wolfe, (ii. 285) in order to show that Louisbourg was, after all, but a wretched little fortress (*bicoque*). Yet this wretched little place, defended by a relatively small force, resisted for nearly fifty days the greatest fleet and army that England had ever assembled in America. Wolfe's letter was evidently written in bad humour—we all know his ill health made him exceedingly irritable—and is not even accurate, for he says Louisbourg has but one casemate on it—a mistake, since there are now visible the crumbling remains of four—certainly small in size, but still four in number. England and France did not consider Louisbourg a wretched little place, judging from the rejoicings on the one side and the dismay on the other. Garneau is obviously glad of an excuse, however weak, to underrate the importance of the capture, and exaggerate the strength of the defence. The "*Cours d'Histoire du Canada*" by the Abbé Ferland, professor of history at the University of Laval, (Quebec, 1861, 2 vols., 8vo) has a few references to Cape Breton and Louisbourg; ii. 395-396 (foundation of Louisbourg); 475-478 (taking of Louisbourg in 1745); 559-561, (taking of Louisbourg in 1758).

In "*Histoire du Canada*," etc., by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg (Paris, 1852), there is a short description of Cape Breton (i. 244); an account of its resources (ii. 169) with a special reference to the Abbé Maillard (see *infra*, XIII.) and his death at Halifax; the foundation, capture and destruction of Louisbourg (i. 244, 245; 274, 277, 278; 293-295. He also gives a brief account of a visit paid to the ruins in 1815 by Mgr. Plessis, bishop of Quebec (ii. 136-138).

"*Le Canada sous la Domination Française d'après les Archives de la Marine et de la Guerre*," by M. Dussieux, Professeur d'Histoire à l'école impériale militaire de St. Cyr, (Paris, 1855 and 1862,) has short references to Louisbourg, (pp. 101, 102, 104-106, 190-193), a map "pour servir à l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France, &c.," and among the pièces justificatives (pp. 327-329.) "*Représentations faites à M. le Chevalier de Drucour au Conseil de guerre tenu à Louisbourg le 26 Juillet, 1758, par M. Prévost, commissaire-général de la marine, ordonnateur, à l'Ile Royale.*"

X. ENGLISH WORKS.—MEMOIRS AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION RESPECTING LOUISBOURG AND THE TWO SIEGES OF 1745 AND 1758.

Diverse opinions have been expressed with respect to the origin of the expedition of 1745. Brown in his "*History of Cape Breton*," p. 191, is of opinion that Mr. Robert Auchmuty, judge of the vice admiralty court of Massachusetts, was "the originator of the enterprise," but the editor of the "*Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.*" (v. 434) throws doubt on his claim of priority by showing that he developed his plan in an article on "The Importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation," which was published in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" only in July, 1745,— "the same number in which was also printed the news of the attack and capture." Dr. Winsor goes on to say that "when the paper was reprinted in a thin folio tract shortly afterwards, he, or some one for him, emphasized his claim to the suggestion in the title itself, as follows:—The Importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation, humbly represented by Robert Auchmuty [sic], judge, etc., in New England, N. B. Upon the plan laid down in this representation the island was taken by Commodore Warren and General Pepperrell the 14th of June, 1745" (London, 1745). Though the judge's claim cannot be substantiated, but is even contradicted by the date of the publication of his essay, it is not at all unlikely that he was among those who suggested and supported the enterprise at a time when Louisbourg was in everybody's mouth. A paper of the title just cited, ("*Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.*," v. 454, n.) as printed in the '*Mass. Hist. Coll.*' v. 202, is dated "From my lodgings in Cecil street, 9 April, 1744." A MSS. copy is in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library (Louisbourg Papers). The third ed. of "*Curwen's Journal*," edited by Ward (1845), contains a sketch of his life.

The fifth volume of the "*Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.*" devotes chap. vii to "The Wars on the Seaboard: The Struggle in Acadia and Cape Breton," by Charles C. Smith, of the "*Mass. Hist. Soc.*," with a short critical essay by

the same. The most valuable feature of this chapter—for the references to Cape Breton and the two sieges are necessarily meagre—are the notes by the editor, Dr. Winsor, on the authorities relating to Louisbourg, and the island generally. It is the only bibliography that has yet appeared on the subject of the island from 1745-'58. The strong feature of these notes is necessarily the complete references to the literature on the taking of Louisbourg in 1745, the collection of books and documents in Harvard University, and other institutions in New England being very complete.

"The History of New Hampshire" by Jeremy Belknap (Philadelphia and Boston, 1784-1792). It contains a very readable and accurate account of the siege of 1745, which is particularly valuable since the author had superior opportunities for obtaining direct information from the participants in the famous exploit. He was the ablest historian New England produced in early times, and had — to quote the words of William Cullen Bryant — "the high merit of being the first to make American history attractive." See an article on his merits as an historian in the 'Atlantic Monthly,' for May, 1891.

"Accurate Journal and account of the proceedings of the New England land forces, during the late expedition against the French settlements on Cape Breton to the time of the surrender of Louisbourg." (Exon, 1746). The manuscript of this work, according to the "Nar. and Crit. Hist.," (v. 437) was sent to England by Pepperrell to one of his friends, and as printed was attested by Pepperrell, Waldo, Gridley and others. According to the same authority it appeared as "An accurate and authentic account of the taking of Cape Breton in 1745," London, 1758; and in the 'American Magazine,' 1746; and with "some curious verbal differences," as an appendix to a letter from W. Shirley, Esqr., to the Duke of Newcastle, with a "Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg," (London, 1746). It was reprinted twice in Boston in 1746 on the authority of the legislature. The full title of the copy in the parliamentary library at Ottawa is this: "A letter from W. Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts Bay to His Lordship the Duke of Newcastle, with a 'Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg' and other operations of the forces during the expedition against the French settlements of Cape Breton, drawn up at the desire of the Council and House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay and approved and attested by Sir W. Pepperrell and other principal officers who commanded in the siege the expedition." (London 1746.) A copy of the same ed. is also in the present author's possession.

"Journal of the late siege by the troops of North America against the French of Cape Breton," by Colonel James Gibson, who took part in the siege. London, 1745. It contains a plan of the siege, reproduced in a reduced form in the "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 437. It also appeared in Boston in 1847, as "edited by Lorenzo D. Johnson, under misleading title of 'A Boston Merchant of 1745.'"

"A particular account of the taking of Cape Breton by Admiral Warren, and Sir William Pepperrell, with a description of the place and the articles of capitulation. By Philip Durell, Esqr., Captain of His Majesty's ship *Superbe*. To which is added a letter from an officer of Marines." (London, 1745.)

"The importance and advantage of Cape Breton considered in a letter to a member of parliament from an inhabitant of New England." (London, 1746.)

"Two letters containing some further advantages and improvements that may seem necessary to be made on the taking and keeping of Cape Breton." (London, 1746.)

"The importance and advantage of Cape Breton, truly stated and impartially considered, with proper maps," (London 1746.) The authorship has been ascribed to William Bolland, a friend of Shirley, and is also believed to have been inspired by W. Vaughan, who, it says, "had the honour of reviving, at least, if not having been the original mover or projector" of the expedition. The maps are Bellin's.

"The great importance of Cape Breton demonstrated and exemplified by extracts from the best writers, French and English." (London, 1746). It reproduces Bellin's map and plan from Charlevoix.

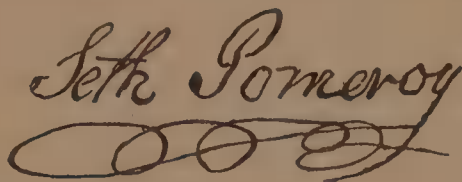
"An accurate description of Cape Breton, Situation, Soil, Ports, &c., its importance to France, but of how much greater it might have been to England, with an account of the taking of the city by the New England forces under General Pepperrell in 1745." (London, 1755).

"Memoir of the principal transactions of the last war between the English and the French in North America, from 1744 to the conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, containing in particular an account of the importance of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton to both nations." (London and Boston, 1758).

Dr. William Douglass, a Scotch physician of Boston, published in 1747, in quarterly numbers, "A Summary, historical and political, of the first planting, progressive improvements, and present state of the British settlements in North America; with some transient accounts of the bordering French and Spanish settlements." The numbers of this summary were subsequently collected in two volumes, published at Boston in 1749 and 1751, and in London in 1755 and 1760. He was a man of strong prejudice, and had a violent antipathy to Shirley (See "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 158, 159). He gives an account of the Louisbourg expedition, which he calls "this infinitely rash New England expedition, though beyond all military or human probability successful." Douglass's portraiture of Admiral Knowles, the irascible governor of Louisbourg, whose conduct in the Boston impressment riots made him

very unpopular to Bostonians, drew upon him an action for libel, and he felt compelled to make a forced apology in the preface to the volume of 1749.

The Massachusetts Historical Collections, (i. 13-60, 120; x. 313), Provincial Papers of New Hampshire, (v., 931, etc.), Rhode Island Colonial Records (v.), Colonial Records of Connecticut (ix.), Pennsylvania Archives (i. 667), New England Historical and Genealogical Register (v. 88; xii. 263; xix. 225, &c.) contain a large amount of miscellaneous official and other papers bearing on the origin and preparations for the expedition.



Seth Pomeroy left a journal of the siege which is quoted by George Bancroft, but it is not printed. See "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 437.

The Belknap and Pepperrell Papers, (16 vols.) of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston, contain a most valuable collection of the leading official documents relating to the siege of Louisbourg, and the events preceding and following the taking of the fortress. One volume,

Louisbourg papers, is especially important.

The reader may also consult Curwen's Journal, edited by Ward (Boston, 4th. ed., 1864), which contains a sketch of the island battery, reproduced by "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 448. Also Curwen's Letters in Essex Institute, Hist. Coll. iii. 186; Craft's Journal in same, iv. 181; Adonijah Bidwell, chaplain of the fleet in N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., April, 1873; Wolcott's J. in Collections of the Con. Hist. Soc. i.; Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, for July, 1858, which has Ward's account of Pepperrell; Magazine of Am. Hist., Nov., 1878; Mr. J. R. Bartlett's Naval History of Rhode I., in Hist. Mag. for 1870; S. G. Drake's "Five Years' French and Indian Wars" (Albany 1870); C. Hudson's N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., Oct. 1870, giving from the Belknap Papers a list of all the commissioned officers in the expedition (See T. H. Higginson's note, in "Mem. Hist. of Boston," ii. 117); Hudson, in the same for April 1868, and July, 1871, names of the soldiers; Potter in N. H. Adj. Gen.'s Rep. for 1866 (pp. 61-76), subsequently published a "Military Hist. of N. H.," gives a list of the soldiers from N. H. ("Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 438). Of the first Louisbourg expedition there are no rolls except as made up in copies from the Pepperrell and Belknap papers in the library of the Mass. Hist. Soc. (*Ib.* 165.)

The reader may also refer to the following works for short accounts of the event of 1745:—

1. "History of Massachusetts Bay," by Thos. Hutchinson. (Boston, 1749, 1767, 1795; London, 1750, 1768, 1828.)
2. "Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," by Richard Minot. (Boston, 1798.)
3. "An Introduction to the History of the Colonies, giving from the State Papers a comprehensive view of the origin of their revolt," by George Chalmers. (Boston, 1845, the first ed. of 1782 being suppressed, "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," V. 353.)
4. "Life of Washington," by Chief Justice Marshall. (Philadelphia and London, 1804-07).
5. "History of the United States," by James Grahame. (London, 1827, 1836; New York, 1830; Boston, 1833, 1845; Philadelphia, 1845, 1846 and 1852).
6. "History of Maine," by W. D. Williamson. (Hallowell, Me., 1832 and 1839).
7. "Life and times of Sir W. Johnson," by William L. Stone & Son. (Albany, 1865).
8. "Compendious History of New England," by J. Gorham Palfrey. (Boston, 1884, in a complete form, the volumes having been first issued in 1866, 1872, 1873, "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," V. 161, 162.)
9. "Popular History of the United States," by Gay. (N. Y., 1876-80).

John S. Barry, "History of Massachusetts," (Boston, 1855-57, gives a clear account in 15 pages (139-155), specially valuable for the authorities he cites. The "Memorial History of Boston," (Boston, 1880-81, vol. ii.) has a chapter devoted to French and Indian wars, by T. W. Higginson, in which there are some interesting notes to the short account given of the siege, and a number of autographs of Warren, Pepperrell, and others who took part in the expedition. The volume has for a frontispiece a portrait of Shirley, his coat of arms, his residence at Roxbury and the Louisbourg cross given in the text of this work.

The following represent the religious phase of the affair of 1745:

1. "Extraordinary events the doings of God and marvellous in pious eyes. Illustrated in a sermon at the South Church in Boston, N. E., on the General Thanksgiving, Thursday, July 18, 1745, occasioned by taking the city of Louisbourg on the Isle of Cape Breton, by N. E. soldiers, assisted by a British squadron." By Thomas Prince, M. A., and one of the pastors of the said church. Psal. xeviii. 1.2. (Boston, London, and Edinburgh, 1745, 1746).
2. "Marvellous things done by the right hand and holy arm of God in getting him the victory," by Rev. Charles Chauncey, brother-in-law of General Pepperrell (London and Boston.)
3. "A brief and plain essay on God's wonder working Providence for New England in the reduction of Louisbourg," by S. Niles, *in verse*. (London, 1747).

The Reverend Thomas Prince was a memorable figure in the history of those times. He was a voluminous author besides an eminent if prolix preacher. (See "Mem. Hist. of Boston" for an account of his writings and services, ii. 401, 409, 425; portrait, ii. 221; his "Chronological Hist. of N. E.," i. xviii; ii. 426; his library, ii. 221, 426. Also "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 121, 137, 163, etc.) Another of his sermons is: "The Salvations of God in 1746, in part set forth in a sermon at the South Church in Boston, Nov. 27, 1746, being the day of the Anniversary Thanksgiving in the Province of Massachusetts in N. E., wherein the most remarkable Salvations of the year past, both in Europe and North America as far as they come to our knowledge, are briefly considered" (Boston, 1746). In this last sermon he makes special mention of the providential interposition which saved the English colonies from the threatened attack by the Duke d'Anville's fleet (See *supra*, sec. VI.) In the first sermon of 1745, Mr. Prince narrates the leading events from the commencement of the N. E. expedition until the capture of Louisbourg, to show that "no one in common reason can deny a *particular Providence* in this great affair." His closing words are that "as 'twas one of the chief disgraces of Queen Anne's reign to resign *this Island* to the *French*, it is happily one of the glories of King GEORGE the Second's to recover it to the *British Empire*." I have not come across any sermon of this divine, explaining the giving up of Cape Breton in 1748 by the same George II., on whose glories he expatiated in 1745.

"A voyage to South America describing at large the Spanish Cities, Towns, Provinces, etc., in that extensive continent, undertaken by command of the King of Spain," by Don George Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa, both captains of the Spanish navy, fellows of the Royal Society of London; members of the Royal Academy of Paris, &c. Translated from the original Spanish, (3rd. ed., London, 1772, 2 vols.) The translation in my possession is by Mr. John Adams of Waltham Abbey, "who resided several years in those parts." This work is cited because it contains an interesting "account of the harbour and town of Louisbourg and the taking of it by the English (1745); together with some particulars relating to the French fishery, and the trade carried on there." (See vol. ii. cap. 7.) The complete work in the original Spanish is relatively expensive, 100 fr. in Dufosse's Cat.; it is in 5 vols. 4to., (Madrid, 1748) — the fifth volume being now rare. The author gives an account of the capture of the *Délivrance*, by the English fleet in 1745.

In "The Works of James Houston, M.D., containing memoirs of his life and travels in Asia, Africa, America and most parts of Europe, from the year 1690 to the present time" (London, 1753), there is a letter from a correspondent of the author, written at Louisbourg, Nov. 20, 1745, and giving a short account (pp. 357-385) of the taking of the fortress in that year. The name of the writer is not mentioned, but the style of the narrative is that of the author himself, and we have still more reason to believe that the correspondent is imaginary when we read the closing pages which refer to the value of Cape Breton to England and the necessity of retaining it in her possession. The arguments have a striking resemblance to those we find in the pamphlets which were issued after the taking of Louisbourg, and to which reference has just been made. In all probability the author compiled this part of the book from the current pamphlets of the day. (See *infra*, App. XVIII.) The writer, in showing the importance of Cape Breton, states that at least 3,400 men, 500 shallops, 60 brigantines, schooners and sloops were employed annually in the fisheries from the Gut of Canso to Louisbourg, and thence to the northeast part of the island. The annual catch of fish is estimated at 186,000 quintals, and the trade required ninety-three ships, with an aggregate of 1,800 men. Other statistics are given to show the great importance of Cape Breton as an entrepot for the fisheries of the gulf. Houston was a Scotch adventurer who received a good medical education, and passed most of his life as surgeon to the Assiento company, and as a trader and negotiator in Central America and the Spanish main. In addition to the memoir cited here there were two previous editions of his memoirs published in London in 1747, one under the title of "The Memoirs of the Life and Travels of James Houston," with the name of Jacob Bickerstaff, and the other, "Dr. Houston's Memoirs of his own Life-time." (See Sabin's Dictionary, viii. 467.)

In the fourteenth volume of the voluminous collection of voyages, known as "Histoire Générale des Voyages, etc.," by the Abbé Prévost, the author of "Manon Lescaut" (Paris, 1746-1789), there is an account of the "Etablissement des François dans l'Île Royale, autrefois le Cap Breton," extending over twelve pages (671-684). It is borrowed almost entirely from Charlevoix and De Ulloa—the errors of the latter being reproduced. The author was a mere compiler and editor in the case of this collection of voyages. He does not appear to have availed himself of the opportunity he must have had of consulting the colonial archives at Paris, which contained abundant material for an accurate description of Louisbourg, and the resources and condition of Cape Breton. He does not even give a sketch of the fortress, though his work contains many elaborate plans of places in America, Asia and Africa. He has contented himself with a map, by N. Bellin, of Acadie and Île Royale, which is thirteen years later than that given in Charlevoix by the same engineer. Several places are spelt differently; for instance Miray becomes Miré, and Gabori is Gabaru. The strait of Canseau is spelt Fronsac, showing how long Sieur Denys's title clung to this well known "gut." Volumes xii-xv are devoted to America in this collection of voyages, the

first nine volumes of which comprised the English collection known as "Astley's Voyages" (London, 1745-1747). Before the completion of the work Abbé Prévost died, and four volumes were added by Querlon and De Leyre. (See "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," i. p. xxxv, for references to other editions.)

"The Life of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., the only native of New England who was created a baronet during its connection with the mother country," by Usher Parsons (London and Boston, 1856). This work is the best and only complete life of the famous leader of the New England expedition. In his preface the author states that the idea of the work originated in the fact that he came into possession of a package of papers, "which had been exposed in an old shed on the Pepperrell estate, probably for half a century." They had been saved from destruction by Colonel George Sparhawk, allied by marriage to descendants of Sir William. After much difficulty he accumulated sufficient material to write a biography. The plan of Louisbourg is taken from the early edition of Bancroft's "History of the Colonization of the United States," as Dr. Parsons came to the conclusion, after a personal inspection of the ruins of that city, and after an examination of several drawings of it and its fortress, that it "admitted of no improvements." The "Narrative and Critical History" (v. 448) says that "it follows an English plan procured by Mr. Bancroft in London, and closely resembles the sketch owned by a descendent of Pepperrell and herewith given" (p. 437). This last plan is owned by Mrs. Howard, of Brooklyn, N.Y., and is considered authentic.

Sir W. Pepperrell's funeral sermon was preached by his former pastor, Rev. Dr. B. Stevens, and as Lady Pepperrell published it, and sent a copy to every member of the house and council of Massachusetts, it is still easily obtained. (See Parson's "Life," p. 321.) It has for title "A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Hon. Sir W. Pepperrell, Bart., Lieut.-General in Her Majesty's service, etc., who died at his seat in Kittery, July 6, 1759" (Boston, 1759, pp. 30). It has a portrait inserted in some copies.

"Capture of Louisbourg by the New England Militia" is the title of a monograph that appears in the March, April, and May numbers of the 'Atlantic Monthly' for 1891, from the pen of Dr. Francis Parkman, who, in this essay, as in all his other productions, displays that elegance of style, thoroughness of research, and judicial spirit that are eminently his characteristics as an historian. He uses the testimony of a curious little work, not before cited by the historians of Louisbourg. It is the "Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg, contenant une Relation exacte et circonscrite de la Prise de l'Isle Royale par les Anglais. A Quebec chez Guillaume le Sincère, a l'Image de la vérité, 1745." Dr. Parkman says that "this little book, of 81 printed pages, is extremely rare. I could study it only by having a literatim transcript made from a copy in the Bibliothèque National, as it was not to be found in the British Museum. It bears the signature "B. L. N." and is dated "a . . . ce 28 Aout, 1745. The imprint of Quebec is evidently intended as a mask, the book having, no doubt, been printed in France. It criticises Duchambon severely, and makes him mainly answerable for the disaster."

As these proofs are passing through my hands, Dr. Parkman's new work, "A Half-Century of Conflict," which fills up the gap between his "Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV" and his "Montcalm and Wolfe," is announced for early in May. It covers much of the ground over which I have gone, very briefly on the whole, in this work on Cape Breton. It contains chapters on "Louisbourg and Acadia" (i. c. 10); on "Louisbourg Besieged and Taken" (ii. cc. 5 and 6); and on "The Expedition of the Duc d'Anville" (ii. c. 7).

In 'Harper's Monthly' for 1864, vol. xxviii, p. 354, will be found an interesting narrative, suitable to the readers of a popular magazine, of the siege of Louisbourg in 1745, by J. T. Headley. The writer is accurate on the whole, but he makes an egregious mistake, when he states (p. 356) that "the Rhode Island troops, numbering only a few hundred, were already" at Canso, when the Massachusetts forces arrived there on the first of April—the fact being, that they never sailed or took part in the expedition. The statement that one-half of the rich treasure taken in the *Délivrance* and other vessels captured by the fleet, went to the captors, is misleading. The Crown and the English fleet alone divided the spoils between them.

In the 'Report of Canadian Archives' for 1886, (pp. vii-xii) Mr. Brymner, chief archivist, has a summary of the leading facts relating to the capture of Louisbourg in 1745. It is generally accurate and impartial. It contains the plans (Note A.) suggested by General Waldo to Pitt, for the reduction of the fortress in 1758, and "dearly drawn from his experience while in command of the land forces, at the reduction of the same place in 1754." The two maps that accompany the report, are made up from Gridley's and other maps in Jefferys' French Dominions.

In the fifth volume of the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada' (sec. ii), there is a long paper on the "First Siege and Capture of Louisbourg" by the Honourable Sir Adams G. Archibald, P.C., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., who, after a long life spent in the public service, has devoted the leisure of his declining years to historical studies. This paper is an interesting contribution to the literature on the subject.

"The taking of Louisbourg in 1745," is a short account of the siege by Samuel Adams Drake, published in a series describing "Decisive Events in American History," (Boston, 1891). It has no special historic value since it is simply a narrative made up from the ordinary sources of information available to every one on the subject.

Smollett, in "The History of England from the Revolution to the death of George the Second"—a continuation of Hume's history—has only a page and a-half on the operations of 1745, and falls into the error of saying that "they were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the British marines." Parkman ('Atlantic Monthly' for May, 1891) puts it correctly when he states that "the whole work of the siege fell upon the land forces, and though it had been proposed to send a body of marines ashore, this was not done. Three or four gunners, intended, in the words of Warren, 'to put your men in the way of loading cannon,' were his only contribution to the operations of the siege." (See letter of Warren to Pepperrell, 11th May, 1745, in which he showed he had no men to spare. *Ib.* p. 629, *n.*) Smollett was, however, fully aware of the importance of Cape Breton, and of the ignominy of the peace which gave it up "in exchange for a petty fortress in the East Indies." Smollett gives more space, pp. 299-304, (London ed. of 1796) to the taking of Louisbourg in 1758, and describes "the noisy expressions of triumph and exultation" in London.

"Exodus of the Western Nations," by Viscount Bury, M.P. (London, 1865, 2 vols.). In the second volume (pp. 179-186) a brief sketch of the siege of 1745 is given, but while it is incorrect in some particulars it does not fail to do full justice to the enterprise and bravery of the New Englanders. We know, however, that Warren had not actually communicated with Pepperrell before the latter's preparations for sailing were complete, or had arranged for a rendezvous at Canso. As a matter of fact, Pepperrell sailed for Canso despite the knowledge that Warren had refused to co-operate with him. Vaughan did not attack the royal battery and force the French to spike their guns. The garrison did not become mutinous during the siege, but did their duty courageously. Lord Bury was civil secretary for 1854-5, under Sir Edmund Head, while governor-general of Canada, and married a daughter of Sir Allan McNab, who took for many years a leading part in Canadian affairs. The work in question is a history of colonization, quite readable, but sketchy and not always accurate in its details. Another example of his inaccuracy is his statement that the Duc d'Anville died at sea. (See *supra*, sec. VI.)

The taking of Louisbourg, in 1745, appears to have inspired a poet in Nathaniel Ames's "Almanac" (Boston, 1746) to indulge in this poetic burst:

"Bright Hesperus, the harbinger of day,
Smiled gently down on Shirley's prosperous sway,
The prince of light rode in his burning car,
To see the overtures of peace and war,
Around the world; and bade his charioteer,
Who marks the periods of each month and year,
Rein in his steeds, and rest upon high noon,
To view our victory at Cape Breton."

The victory is also commemorated in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for July, 1745, in several stanzas, entitled "Hymn to Victory," of which the following is a specimen verse:

"Beyond the wide Atlantic sea
She rises *first* to crown our toils;
Thither to wealth she points the way,
And bids us thrive on Gaelic spoils."

The inspiration in this case is decidedly of a mercenary character, and does not take as lofty a flight as the New England poetic description of Hesperus smiling on the victory. Cape Breton does not appear to have called for poetry in 1758. It was soon forgotten in the taking of Quebec and the death of Wolfe, to whom many poetic tributes were paid. See Hawkins's "Pictures of Quebec" (Quebec, 1834), 379, 387, 388.

In N. Hawthorne's charming stories of history and biography for young people, "The Whole History of Grandfather's Chair," there is a short chapter on the preparations in Boston in 1744-45 for the expedition against Louisbourg (see pp. 110-116, Patterson's Edinburgh ed. of 1885), and of the rejoicings when the news of the victory arrived in the capital of New England. A little work of this style hardly calls for criticism, but it is noteworthy that, though the author states in his preface he "has endeavoured to keep a distinct and unbroken thread of authentic history," he ignores the second taking of Louisbourg in 1758, though the first in the series of great events that relieved the Thirteen Colonies of fears of French aggression, and gave Canada to England. See also Hawthorne's "Fanshawe, and Other Pieces" (Boston, 1876), a work of little merit, but noteworthy here because it contains a sketch of Pepperrell and of the expedition of 1745.

In 'The New England Magazine' (Boston) for October, 1891, there is a short paper (pp. 260-265), "A Glimpse of the Siege of Louisbourg," by S. Frances Harrison, a Canadian poet, better known as "Seranus." As is very common with most of the English writers, Louisb(o)urg is anglicized by leaving out "o"—an inaccuracy, it seems to me, in the case of a French name, especially in an historic paper. It occurs, however, in the maps and memoirs by Gibson, Waldo, Gridley, and the New England writers generally of last century. Mrs. Harrison's notes—the

paper is really nothing more—are chiefly made up from the letters of Brigadier-General Waldo, third in rank among the officers of the New England expedition of 1745. Wa'do, it appears, had a claim to large grants of land in Nova Scotia, originally belonging to Sir William Alexander, earl of Stirling. He proposed in 1730 to the English government to settle the grant, if his claims were acknowledged—the first settlement to be made “near St. Mary’s Bay, which is the nearest good land to the fort of Annapolis (Royal), by which the said settlements and the garrison, in case of any emergency, may be mutually serviceable to each other.” The British government, however, never acceded to his propositions, which would have made him one of those great landlords, called patroons or manorial lords, who for so long a time occupied so large a portion of the lands of New York. The name has been perpetuated in a fine county of Maine, of which Belfast is the principal town, and the noble Penobscot Bay is the most picturesque feature. In Drake’s “Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast” (pp. 60, 61) there is an account of the Waldo or Muscongus patent, which extended over a good part of this county. (See Williamson’s “History of Maine”). Waldo’s daughter was to have married Sir W. Pepperrell’s only son, Andrew, but the match never came off, through the indifference of the latter, whose eccentric conduct is inexplicable, even after the attempted explanations of his apologist, Parsons (see “Life of Pepperrell,” 220-229), who gives an account of the whole affair. Appleton’s “Cyclopædia of American Biography” falls into an error when it says both Samuel Waldo and his father Jonathan took part in the Louisbourg expedition. It was the son who was brigadier-general, and the father was never connected with the expedition. (See List of Officers of the Expedition, *supra*, sec. IV; Parson’s “Life of Pepperrell, 349, 350). A portrait of Waldo is given in Joseph Williamson’s “Belfast,” p. 44. The volume of “Canadian Archives” for 1886 (p. cliv, note B) gives a summary of the papers relating to the Waldo claim in Nova Scotia. Mrs. Harrison’s references to Louisbourg call for no particular comment, except that she falls into an error in saying that the city and fortress extended “about five miles each way, from north to south and from east to west,” since the circumference of the whole place was hardly two miles and a half. (See *supra*, sec. II.)

Accounts of the siege of 1758 are to be found in the despatches of Amherst and Boscawen to Pitt, extracts from which were published (see “Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.” v. 464) as a “Journal of the landing of his majesty’s forces on the island of Cape Breton, and of the siege and surrender of Louisbourg,” a third edition of which was printed in 1758 in Boston. The N. Y. Hist. Society Col. (1881) contain “An authentic account of the reduction of Louisbourg in June and July, 1758, by a Spectator” (London, 1758). Entinck in his “General History of the Late War” (London, 1764) used this excellent description without acknowledgment (see Parkman, “Montcalm and Wolfe,” ii. 81). Thomas Mante, in his “History of the Late War in North America and the Islands of the West Indies, including the campaigns of 1763 and 1764 against His Majesty’s Indian Enemies,” (London, 1772) prints the so called official “Journal of Amherst,” which appeared first in the ‘London Journal’ and in other periodicals of the time. Mante also gives a very intelligible plan of the siege operations. He was an engineer officer, and was major of a brigade during the campaign of 1764. His work which contains 18 large well executed maps, principally by Thos. Kitchin, has a high reputation and copies are now so rare that they bring from \$70 to \$125 according to their condition; Quaritch sold a copy in 1891 for the latter sum. The copy in the possession of the present writer belonged to the library of Baron Mulgrave, P. C., who died in 1798, and is complete and unsoiled in every particular. The topography of the country around Louisbourg harbour is remarkably well marked in Mante’s plan. The first volume of John Knox’s “Historical Journal of the Campaigns for years 1758, 1759, and 1760 &c.,” (London, 1760, 2 vols.) contains a readable account of the siege, and is especially valuable for the numerous authentic official documents cited. See also J. Montresor’s Journal, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. (1881).

Other authorities on the siege cited by Parkman and the editor of the “Nar. and Crit. Hist.” are the following: ‘The Life of Major General James Wolfe,’ by Robert Wright, (London, 1864) which contains much original matter in the shape of Wolfe’s correspondence. “The Grenville correspondence” (vol. i, pp. 240-265) and Walpole’s “Memoirs of George the Second” (2nd ed. vol. iii. 134) contain useful material for the historical writer. Parkman refers also to the “Diary of a Captain or Subaltern in the army of Amherst at Louisbourg,” found in the garret of an old house at Windsor, Nova Scotia, on an estate belonging in 1760 to Chief Justice Deschamps, and the use of which he owed to the kindness of Mr. George Wiggins of the same place.

Dr. Francis Parkman’s work on “Montcalm and Wolfe” (Boston, 1884, 2 vols.) already referred to in the foregoing paragraphs is a spirited account of the capture of Louisbourg. The narrative is found in the 19th chapter, vol. 2, and contains 30 pages with an eclectic map, which is very clear though drawn on a small scale. As usual in his works, the author cites at the end of the chapter the principal authorities which he has consulted.

“A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie,” by Beamish Murdoch, Q. C., (Halifax, N. S., 1865-1867, 3 vols.) devotes chapters v and xxiii of the second volume to descriptions of the sieges of 1745 and 1759. This work is valuable as an accurate compilation of original authorities, but it can lay no claim to literary skill or style. The account of the siege of 1758 is taken mainly from Entinck.

"The History of Acadia from its first discovery to its surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris," by James Hannay (St. John, N. B., 1879,) is distinguished by the literary merit wanting in the former work, but the author has strong prejudices against the Acadians. In chapters xviii and xxiii there are short readable accounts of the sieges of 1745 and 1758.

"A History of the Island of Cape Breton with some account of the Discovery and Settlement of Canada, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland," by Richard Brown, F. G. S., F. R. G. S., (London, England, 1869) is the only complete history that has ever been written of the island. It is a conscientious effort of a gentleman who lived many years of his life in Cape Breton as manager of the largest and oldest association engaged in the working of the valuable mines of Sydney. He was a man of considerable scientific knowledge, and devoted the closing years of his life in London to the writing of this work and to scientific studies. He had access to the English archives, but does not appear to have made any effort to use the vast amount of material to be found in Paris. As it is, however, the work is fair and accurate. It reproduces Thorne's map of the Atlantic (1527); Mercator's map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence (1569); Champlain's (1632); Denys's (1672); an excellent profile of the walls of Louisbourg; plans of the harbour and vicinity and of the second siege, as well as a large modern map of the island.

"An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," by Thomas C. Haliburton, barrister-at-law and member of the house of assembly of Nova Scotia. (Halifax, published by Joseph Howe, 2 vols., 1829.) The author will be best known for his famous humorous creation of "Sam Slick." The first volume contains the history, and the second the statistical account. Like all of the judge's works it is written in a pleasant style, though in the times in which he wrote he had not access to many original documents—not even to those in the Nova Scotia archives, strange to say—and consequently the book is not distinguished by any deep historical investigation. Chapters 3 and 5 of the first volume give a brief narrative of the two sieges of Louisbourg. The account of the siege of 1758 is taken almost verbatim from Smollett's history. In the second volume (pp. 201-262) there is a graphic description of Louisbourg in 1728-9, and of the natural features of the island. The work is also memorable as the first ambitious historical effort of a Nova Scotian. Indeed in many respects it still merits a high place among Canadian histories. It is noteworthy that the printer of the book was a famous Nova Scotian, the Honourable Joseph Howe, printer, poet and statesman; the father of responsible government in his province, who began life at the composing case, and died in the government house at Halifax, a lieutenant-governor—in the same old stone government house to which he had been denied admittance in the days of Lord Falkland, a royal governor, who showed his unfitness for his position, and was the last of the old English officials who constantly interfered and had preferences in provincial politics.

C. Roger's "History of Canada, etc." (Quebec, 1856) has a short account of the siege of 1745, pp. 39-43.

"The History of the United States," by George Bancroft (the latest revised edition of which appeared in 1888 in New York) contains short accounts of the two sieges in the second volume (pp. 305-310, 484, 485). The author devotes, as it might be expected, the larger space to the memorable event of 1745.

"The History of Canada," by W. Kingsford, LL.D., F.R.S. Can., (Toronto and London, 1887-1890, 4 vols.) contains an account of the siege of Louisbourg (iii. 309-324) which is accurate and does justice on the whole to the men of New England, though it was hardly necessary for him to dwell on the insulting language of Commodore (not then admiral) Knowles, who succeeded Warren as governor, in reference to the habits of the captors of the fortress. Knowles was a surly sailor who was in a chronic ill-humor during his residence in the island, and devoted himself to give the worst possible account of its resources, its people and everything connected with it. As I have already said (*supra*, sec. VIII.) his prejudiced accounts of Cape Breton are believed to have had much to do with the readiness with which England ceded the island in 1748. In the fourth volume of his work (chapter viii, pp. 120-142), Dr. Kingsford gives an excellent account of the siege of 1758, and a true estimate of the importance of an event "which was the first gleam of triumph reflected on the British arms in America."

"The Conquest of Canada," by the author of "Hochelaga" (London, 1849, 2 vols.), contains a short account (ii. 138-143) of the second siege, but the even more memorable event of 1745 is disposed of with the words: "In 1745, the year when the power of France in Europe was exalted by the splendid victory of Fontenoy, a dangerous blow was struck at her sovereignty in America by the capture of Louisbourg, and with it the whole island of Cape Breton, by the New Englanders under Mr. Pepperrell aided by Admiral Warren." The author was George Warburton, who belonged to the British army, and was member of parliament for Harwich. He died by his own hand, and his works were edited by his better known brother, Eliot, the author of "The Crescent and the Cross," who perished on the "Amazon" when she was destroyed by fire in 1852, while he was on his way to explore the isthmus of Darien.

In "Hochelaga, or England in the New World" (London, 1846-1851, 2 vols.), which was also written by the unfortunate George Warburton, and edited by his brother Eliot, we have a few pages devoted to a short historical and descriptive sketch of Cape Breton (pp. 325-330, 4th ed.). He pays his tribute to the New England expedition

in the words: "In 1745 an expedition of the always brave, and then loyal colonists of England . . . took the stronghold of Louisbourg in a very gallant manner."

In Hildreth's "History of the United States" (New York) three pages are devoted to the New England expedition of 1745, and less than a page to the siege of 1758. (See vol. ii. 394-397, 482.)

In the "Carter-Brown Catalogue" (iii. 1299) there is mention of a "Letter to a great M——r [Pitt,] on the prospect of peace, wherein the demolition of the fortifications of Louisbourg is shown to be absurd, the importance of Canada fully refuted, the proper barrier pointed out in North America, etc." (London, 1761). This is one of the numerous essays and pamphlets that appeared between the fall of Quebec and the Treaty of 1763, with reference to the respective values of Canada and the West India Islands, and the advisability of retaining such places as Gaudaloupe in preference to the present Dominion. (See Bourinot, "Comparative Studies in Canadian Politics," 'Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.,' vol. viii, pp. 39-40.)

Reference to the importance of the taking of Cape Breton in 1745 and 1758 will be found in "A Review of the Reign of George the Second in which a new Light is thrown on the Transactions, and the effects of Ministerial Influence are traced and laid open" (London, 1762, pp. 259). The review is impartial though justly severe on the men that administered England's affairs until the elder Pitt triumphed over the King's prejudices and the schemes of his political enemies. The name of the author is not given, but he is a fearless and well informed critic. He tells us what all writers admit—Tory or Whig—that "the restitution of Louisbourg (in 1748) was loudly complained against by almost every individual." The references to Louisbourg are pp. 82, 101, 102, 215, 216.

In the first volume of the "Canadian Archives" (pp. 18, 46) there is a synopsis of papers in the Public Record Office, London, ("America and West Indies," under subhead of "New England") which relate to the expeditions of 1745 and 1758 against Cape Breton. Among these are letters from Shirley to Newcastle giving accounts of the expedition against Louisbourg and of its surrender in 1745, and giving proposals (in 1746) for the abandonment of the fortress, filling up the harbour, and the establishment of a fort and town at St. Anne's. In the same documents there is correspondence from Admiral Saunders, General Wolfe, and Governor Whitmore, setting forth the proceedings of the fleet of Louisbourg before the attack on Quebec. The "Massachusetts Archives" have muster-rolls of campaigns of 1758. "Nar. and Crit. His.," v. 165.

The original authorities relative to the abortive expedition of Loudon and Holbourne against Louisbourg in the summer of 1757 are given by Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe" (i. 472, n.), viz.: Despatches of Loudon (August, 1757); Knox (who was with the expedition), "Historical Journals of the Campaigns of North America" (London, 1769, 6-28; "Review of Mr. Pitt's Administration" (London, 1763); "The Conduct of a Noble Commander in America Impartially Reviewed" (London, 1758); Beatson, "Naval and Military Memoirs" (ii. 49-59); "Answer to the Letter to two Great Men" (London, ii. 1760); Entinck (ii. 168, 169); Holbourne to Loudon (4th Aug., 1757); Holbourne to Pitt (29th Sept., 1757); *ibid* (30th Sept., 1757); Holbourne to Pownall (2nd Nov., 1757); Mante (86, 97) "Rélacion du Désastre arrivé à la Flotte Anglaise commandée par l'Amiral Holbourne;" Chevalier Johnstone, "Campaign of Louisbourg;" "London Magazine" (1757, p. 514); "Gentleman's Magazine" (1757, pp. 463, 476) 1758, pp. 168-173; "Gazette de France" (621). To these original sources may be added the following brief accounts and references: "History of Great Britain to the Conclusion of the Peace of Amiens" (London, 1806, ii. 371-372); Walpole, "George II" (ii. 231); Mahon, "History of England" (xiv. 168); Smollett, "History of England" (cxxxvii); Warburton, "Conquest of Canada" (ii. 113-119); Haliburton, "History of Nova Scotia" (i. 200-202); Murdoch, *ibid* (ii. 328, 329); Garneau, "Histoire du Canada" (ii. 266, 267); Brown, "History of Cape Breton" (285-290); Kingsford, "History of Canada" (iv. 31-37); Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe" (i. 469-472). M. Faucher de St.-Maurice, in "De Tribord à Babord" (Montreal, 1877) prints among the "Pièces Justificatives" (pp. 431-434) the semi-official French account of Holbourne's disaster off Louisbourg, Sept. 24, 1757.

XI. MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF CAPE BRETON AND LOUISBOURG, PORTRAITS OF WOLFE, ETC.

The most accurate early maps of Cape Breton and Louisbourg are those by Nicholas Bellin, an able French engineer (author of "Le Neptune françois" and other cartographical works), under date of 1744. They are reproduced in Charlevoix's "History of New France." The "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." (v. 440) has a copy on a reduced scale of his Cape Breton map. Richard Gridley, who did such good work at Louisbourg in 1745, has left a plan of the city and fortifications of the fortress, which appears in the "History of the French Dominions in America," by Jefferys, London, 1760, and in his "General Topography of North America and the West Indies," London, 1768, (No. 25). His plan has been largely copied in works relating to Louisbourg, the "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." (v. 443-4) among others. Jefferys, in the first work, has also an elaborate map affording an excellent idea of the siege of 1758, as well as of the natural features of the port and its defences. The "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." (v. 464, 470) reproduces part of Jefferys' map of 1758, as well as Brown's plan of the siege given in his "History of

Cape Breton." It also gives a part of the plate, "plan of the attack," (v. 471), which is in Mante's "History of the Late War." Jefferys' plans incorrectly call "Green" also "Goat Island," whereas the latter name was always given to the rocky islet on which the battery defending the harbour was built. Good views of the town and fortress are not in existence. Dr. Winsor gives three illustrations in the "Narrative and Critical History" (v. 447, 466) one of them from a painting in the possession of Mrs. Anna H. C. Howard, of Brooklyn, N.Y., which came to her by descent from Sir W. Pepperrell, and the two others from the coast views that accompany DesBarres' hydrographic surveys. These views were published in 1779, and an excellent copy of the whole work is in the Ottawa parliamentary library. I give a sketch of one of these drawings. The view is supposed to be from the northeast: a ship is coming through the entrance, and the lighthouse battery is on the right. It appears largely imaginary, as the fortress was not in existence when it was printed, in 1779. It is curious that no elaborate French views are in existence, so far as known. None certainly in Canada.



Nicholas Bellin's plans of Louisbourg and Quebec were frequently reproduced in England, Holland and Germany in the middle of last century. For instance, I have before me a sheet, 24 x 22 in., with the heading: *Vorstellung einiger Gegenden und Plaetze in Nord America unter Franzoesisch und Englische Jurisdiction gehoerig zu finden bey den Homaennischen Erben in Nurnberg, A° 1756.* It contains (1) "Plan du Port et Ville de Louisbourg dans l'Isle Royale; (2) plan de la Ville de Quebec." Both are the plans of Bellin given in Charlevoix. The third is in English: "Plan of the town of Halifax in Nova Scotia," and is coloured like the other two. It is a reproduction of a "Plan des havens von Chebuctou und der stadt Halifax (Hamburgh, 1751). The maps being pirated the author's name is not given in any case.

The following is a summary of maps, plans and views, in addition to those mentioned above.

- 1.—Plan spécial de Louisbourg, N. Visscher, Amsterdam.
- 2.—Plan des fortifications des Louisbourg, H. de Leth, Amsterdam, 1750.
- 3.—Le Petit Atlas Maritime, Nos. 23, 24, N. Bellin, 1764.
- 4.—A map "levé en 1756," after a plan of Louisbourg, preserved in the *Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine* in Paris.
- 5.—Same, in 1779, in the "Neptune Americo-Septentrional, publié par ordre du roi."
- 6.—In the same, under date of 1758, "levé par le chev. de la Rigaudière," with a view, of which there is a copy in the Mass. Archives: Docs. Collected in France, Atlas ii. 5. A similar plan and view by the same person was published at Paris in 1755, "chez Le Rouge, géographe."
- 7.—In this same (composite) atlas, (ii. nos. 44, 45) are maps of the town and harbour and a large plan of the fortifications, marked "Tome 1, No. 23."
- 8.—Four sheets on "The Southeast coast of Cape Breton Island, surveyed by Samuel Holland," published by DesBarres, in 1781.
- 9.—Map by Kitchen, London Magazine, 1747.
- 10.—Plan of the City and Harbour of Louisbourg, showing the landing place of the British in 1745 and 1758 and their encampment in 1758, in Jefferys' "French Dominions" and in his "General Topography."
- 11.—A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys, London, 1763 or 1765. See "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." on the question of date, v. 444, n.
- 12.—Sketch of Island battery. Curwen's "Journal," edited by Ward, Boston, 4th ed., 1864; reproduced in "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 448.
- 13.—Plans of the town and fortifications (1745) by Durell and Bastide; of town and harbour (1755) by W.

Green; views by Bastide (1749), Admiral Knowles (1756), Ince (1758), engraved by Carnot (1762) and Thomas Wright (1766). All in the British Museum.

14.—A view of the landing of the N. E. forces in the expedition against Cape Breton (1745), published by Jefferys. Dr. John C. Warren of Boston has a copy of this print.

15.—Plan of Louisbourg, by Geo. Follings of Boston, gunner; in possession of Dr. A. H. Nichols of Boston.

16.—View of the town, in Cassell's "United States," i. 528. See Jefferys' copperplate engraving.

17.—Plans of the siege and fortifications in 1758, in Jefferys' "French Dominions," 1760.

18.—Plans in Mante's "History of the War."

19.—Map of siege of 1758 in "Abraham's Almanac," Philadelphia and Boston, 1759.

The reader will also find it profitable to consult the following work, although it contains no account of the condition of the island, but is of a scientific character, as its title shows, and is valuable for its revised maps:

"Voyage fait par ordre du Roi, en 1750 et 1751, dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, pour rectifier les Cartes des Cotes de l'Acadie, de l'Isle Royale, et de l'Isle de Terre-Neuve, et pour en fixer les principaux points par des observations astronomiques. Par M. le Marquis de Chabert. 4to. À Paris, 1753." It has only maps of Ile Madame, Strait of Fronsac and the southeast coast of the island from Morienne (Cow Bay) to Gabarus, besides a reduced chart of the coasts of Acadie and Ile Royale.

Later French plans and maps of important places in Cape Breton are the following:

"Carte réduite de l'Isle Royale assujettie aux observations astronomiques et nautiques, etc., faites par M. le Marquis de Chabert. Dressée au dépôt général des cartes de la marine, par ordre de M. de Sartine, 1783. Plans particuliers dependans de l'Isle Royale."

"Détroit de Canseau ou de Fronsac entre la Nouvelle Ecosse et l'Isle du Cap Breton, levé par les vaisseaux du roi d'Angleterre en 1761. A Londres, en 1775; a Paris, chez Le Rouge, 1778."

"Plan du Port Dauphin, de la rade de Ste. Anne, de l'entrée de Labrador et de la Baie de Niganiche. Dressé au dépôt général des cartes de la marine, par ordre de M. de Sartine. 1778."

"Plan de la Baie de Nérichac à la côte sud de l'Isle Madame. Dressé au dépôt général des cartes et plans de la marine, par ordre de M. de Sartine. 1779."

"Plan du Port Toulouse à la côte du Sud de l'Isle Royale. Dressé au dépôt général des cartes et plans de la marine, par ordre de M. de Sartine. 1779."

"The Atlantic Neptune," published for the use of the Royal Navy of Great Britain, by Colonel DesBarres, governor of Cape Breton, London, 1777, 2 vols., atlas fol.:

Vol. i, "Sea Coast of Nova Scotia."

Vol. ii, "Charts of the Coasts and Harbours in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, from surveys taken by Major Holland, surveyor-general of the northern coast." It contains interesting coast views of ports and towns of the province, contributed by British engineers.

Among the maps and views in this valuable collection are the following:

View of Louisbourg harbour.

Chart of northeast coast of Cape Breton, from St. Ann's bay to Cape Morien (Cow bay).

St. Ann's bay, Seymour cove and Indian bay.

Southeast coast of Cape Breton.

Harbour of Louisbourg.

Port Hood.

View of Port Hood.

Cape Breton and Sable island.

Lenox passage, Bay of Rocks to St. Peter's island.

Gut of Canso, part of Cape Breton and the Richmond isles.

Gut of Canso, Bay of Rocks to St. Peter's island.

Views of Port Hood and Plaister Cove.

In addition to the maps and illustrations noted in the foregoing paragraphs the "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am." (vol. v) gives the following: Pepperrell arms (see also "Mag. of Am. Hist.," Nov., 1878), Autographs of Auchmuty, Boscawen, Pepperrell, Rous, Tyng, Vaughan and Warren, portraits of Boscawen and Wolfe, Entinck ("Hist. of the Late War," vols. ii, iii, iv) has portraits of Pitt, Amherst, Boscawen and Wolfe. Wright's "Life of Wolfe" has for frontispiece a photographic portrait of the general, from an original picture in the possession of Admiral Warde, K.H., who inherited it from his granduncle, General Warde, Wolfe's dearest friend. It was painted by an artist, unknown to fame, soon after Wolfe entered the army, and shows a boyish full face, not remarkable for expression. Wright knew of only two undoubted portraits of the hero of Quebec: the one just mentioned, and the

other painted by Highmore, now in the National portrait gallery. West's great painting of Wolfe as a boy studying a map of the battle of Blenheim was made in 1775, but it is partly imaginary in some respects. See Wright, 604, 605. Knox's "Journal" has an engraved portrait reproduced in "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 541. Hart, "Fall of New France," has portraits of Boscawen, Wolfe and Amherst. See *infra*, last paragraph of this section. Parkman, in "Montcalm and Wolfe," reproduced the Warde portrait. Warburton, in "Conquest of Canada," has a frontispiece representing him standing with his right arm extended and giving only his profile—a very common picture in works relating to his times. It is described as "from a scarce contemporary print." There is an inferior portrait of Wolfe in the Parliamentary library, in profile, engraved from Mr. Isaac Gorset's model by J. Miller. I know of no portraits in Canada of Duchambon, Drucour, or Vanquelain, or other persons whose names are mentioned in connection with Louisbourg.

In "Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast" (New York, 1875), by Samuel Adam Drake, already mentioned as the author of a little work on the taking of Louisbourg in 1745, there is some interesting information respecting York and Kittery Point, famous as the home of Pastor Moody and Sir William Pepperrell. Illustrations are added of Kittery Point, of Sir William's old mansion and of a portrait of the latter, which is hanging in the large hall of the Essex institute, at Salem, and is asserted by Drake to have been painted in 1751 by Smibert when the baronet was in London. It "represents him in scarlet coat, waistcoat and breeches, a smooth shaven face and powdered periwig; the waistcoat richly gold embroidered, as was then the fashion, was worn long, descending almost to the knee, and formed the most conspicuous article of dress. In one hand Sir William grasps a truncheon, and in the back-ground the painter has depicted the siege of Louisbourg." The "Memorial History of Boston" (ii. 114) contains an engraving of the same picture, of which, however, according to the editor of the "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," (v. 435, *n*), the artist is unknown. The work just cited gives an engraving after a painting owned by Mrs. Anna H. C. Howard, of Brooklyn, N.Y., which descended to her from Pepperrell, and was painted by Smibert. It is also engraved in Parson's "Pepperrell," Drake's "Boston," and the "N. E. Hist." and "General Reg.," Jan., 1866, where Dr. Parsons gives a genealogy of the Pepperrell family. He gives a list of Pepperrell's descendants in his "Life," pp. 335-341. Also a view of the Pepperrell mansion at Kittery, p. 329. See Lamb's "Homes of America, 1879," "Magazine of Am. Hist.," ii. 673; 'Appleton's Journal,' xi. 65.

Dr. Francis Parkman, in his papers in the "Atlantic Monthly" (March, 1891) gives a graphic description of the present appearance of the picturesque locality in Maine made famous by its associations with Sir William. Kittery Point bears the name of a little village in England, and as it was founded in 1623 justly claims the honour of being the first and oldest town in Maine. See chapters iv and x of "Nooks and Corners" (Drake).

"The Fall of New France, 1755-1760," by Gerald E. Hart, with portraits and views in artotype (Montreal, Toronto and New York, 1888), devotes six pages to the victory of 1758. So short an account gives little or no opportunity for doing full justice to the momentous event, which occurred so opportunely for England. Mr. Hart's book is handsomely printed and is chiefly interesting for the excellent portraits and illustrations it gives of men and places famous during the memorable times of which he writes. The portrait of Amherst is a mezzotint by James Watson, after a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, probably in 1763. That of Boscawen, from an engraving by Ravenet from the original painting. That of Wolfe is the very rare mezzotint by C. Spooner, after a sketch by Capt. Harvey Smith, his aide-de-camp. Entinck has similar portraits of Boscawen and Wolfe. See Hart, 166, for references to Wolfe's various portraits.

XII. LOUISBOURG MEDALS.

In 'The Transactions of the Québec Literary and Historical Society' for 1872-3, No. III, appears an interesting paper by Mr. Alfred Sandham on "The Historical Medals of Canada." He tells us that in 1720 the French government ordered a bronze medal to be struck to commemorate the foundation of the fortress of Louisbourg. Seven medals, according to Sandham, were struck by the English government in commemoration of the taking of Louisbourg in 1758. Wright ("Life of Wolfe," 605-606) refers only to two of the medals commemorative of the siege of Louisbourg.

A pamphlet on "The Louisbourg Medals," by Mr. R. W. McLachlan, an enthusiastic antiquarian of Montreal, gives us more complete information on the same subject. His list comprises fourteen medals, or six more than those enumerated by Sandham. Four of them appear in the same lists, but Mr. McLachlan doubts the existence of two of Sandham's. Mr. McLachlan gives us the names of the makers of the medals in most cases, with an estimate of the value of each. I give illustrations of two of the medals in his valuable collection, in another part of this paper. (See *supra*, secs. II, VII.) Mr. McLachlan gives the names of Kirk, Pingo and Pinchbeck as among the principal makers.

1. Obv. : LUDOVICUS XV. D. G. FR. ET NAV. REX. Youthful bust of the king, with long hair. Under the bust, which faces to right, DU VIVIER.

Rev.: LUDOVICOBURGUM FUNDATUM ET MUNITUM. Ex: MDCCXX. A view of the town and harbour of Louisbourg. Bronze; size, 41 millimetres.

2. Obv.: LUDOVICUS XV. REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS. Laureated older head of the king to the right.

Rev.: Same as last. Bronze; size, 41 m.

3. Obv.: PAX UBIQUE VICTRIX ex: GALLORUM ET BRITANNORUM (CONCORDIA) MDCCLXIII. Peace to the right, standing with an olive branch in her extended right hand and a caduceus in her left. At her feet, seated on a battering-ram, is War as a nude male figure, bound; surrounding them are flags, battle-axes and other implements of ancient warfare. Bronze; size, 41 m.

Rev.: Same as No. 1.

4. Obv.: GEORGIUS II. REX. Laureated bust of the king to the left.

Rev.: SENIGAL MAI. 2. MARSH MASON. ST. MALOS JUN. 16. MARLBORO. CHERBOURG AUG. 16. HOWE. LOUISBOURG. JUL. 27. BOSCAWEN. AMHERST. FRONT. AUG. 27. BRADSTREET. DUQUESNE NOV. 24. FORBES. GOREE. DEC. 29. KEPPEL. Britannia in a chariot drawn by a lion over ground strewn with fleurs-de-lis, by her right walks Justice, and on her left Liberty. Above is a scroll inscribed FOEDUS INVICTUM, and underneath the date MDCCLVIII. Brass; size, 43 m.

5. Obv.: GUADALOUPE BARING MOORE. MAY 1. NIAGARA JOHNSON JULY. 25. QUEBEC WOLFE MONCK. TOWNSEND SEP. 13 and 18. CROWN POINT AMHERST AUG. 4. LAGOS BOSCAWEN AUG. 19. HAWKE QUEBERON NOV. 20. MINDEN FERDINAND AUG. 1. A shield, with a fleur-de-lis reversed, supports a lion to the left and a unicorn to the right. Garter inscribed PERFIDIA EVERSA, and ribbons with W. PITT. AUSP. GEO. II PR. MI. Underneath is the date MDCCLIX. Brass; size, 43 m.

Rev.: Same as last.

6. Obv.: O. FAIR BRITANNIA HAIL. A nude female bust to the left. From behind the bust appears the top of a trident.

Rev.: LOVISBOVRG TAKEN. MDCCLVIII. Victory to the right standing on the prow of an ancient war vessel. In her right hand she holds a wreath, and in her left hand a palm branch. Copper; size, 39 m.

7. Obv.: O. FAIR BRITANNIA HAIL. A nude female bust to the left, with a liberty cap before and a trident behind. Underneath is I. KIRK.

Rev.: LOVISBOVRG TAKEN. MDCCLVIII. Ex: I. KIRK. F. Victory to the right running; in her hand is a large fish, with a number of smaller fishes above it, and in her left a palm branch on a pole, with a shield bearing a fleur-de-lis and an ancient cuirass. Bronze; size, 41 m.

8. Obv.: A globe inscribed CANADA AMERICA, resting on a nude female figure which is prostrate on a rock, and is pointing to an inverted fleur-de-lis. On the left of the globe is a soldier, with musket and bayonet, pointing to Canada on the globe, and to the left is a sailor waving his hat. Over the globe is a scroll inscribed PARITER. IN. BELLA, behind it the Union Jack, and above Fame, with a wreath in her left hand, blowing a trumpet. In the distance are five small boats and a high rock. To the left is T. PINGO. F. Bronze; size, 44 m.

Rev.: LOVISBOVRG TAKEN. MDCCLVIII. View of Louisbourg harbour. In the foreground is a battery firing on two war vessels, one of which is burning. To the right is the town, and in the distance are six vessels. On the left is Lighthouse Point.

9. Obv.: ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TOOK CAPE BRETON. Half length figure of Boscawen in mailed armour to the right.

Rev.: LOVISBOVRG Ex: JUL. 26. 1758. A rude view, intended for but altogether unlike the town and harbour of Louisbourg. To the right is a hill surmounted by a tower. A ball from a mortar is about to strike the tower, and the flag seems to be about to drop or is being lowered. The town is clustered at the foot of the hill. To the left is a small tower with six men around it. In the harbour in front of the town are five vessels, three small and two large ones. Brass, or better, Pinchbeck; size, 40 m.

10. Obv.: Same as last.

Rev.: LOVISBOVRG Ex: JUL. 26. 1758. Similar view, but the hill is larger and the mortar and ball are wanting; there are only two men beside the tower; to the right two small and two larger vessels. Copper or dark mixed metal; size, 41 m.

11. Obv.: ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TOOK CAPE BRETON. Three-quarters figure of Boscawen to the right in naval uniform; in his right hand he holds a baton.

Rev.: LOVISBOVRG Ex: JUL. 26, 1758. Similar view, but the tower on the hill is to the left. There are five small vessels and two larger ones. Brass; size, 37 m.

12. Obv.: Similar to the last, but there are fewer buttons on the coat and the baton is shorter.

Rev.: LOUISBOURG HARBOUR. Ex: JUL. 26. 1758. Similar view. There are three hills with the tower on the one to the left. The other hills are each surmounted with a small building. In the harbour are four small vessels and one large one. Brass; size, 37 m.

13. Obv.: Similar to No. 11.

Rev.: LOVISBOVRG EX. IUL, 26. 1758. Similar view. Tower on rising ground to the left, other buildings scattered over the field. There are no men standing beside the smaller tower to the right. In the harbour there are five small vessels and two large ones. Brass; size, 23 m.

14. Obv.: TO BRAVE ADML. BOSCAWEN. Figure of Boscawen as in No. 9.

Rev.: I SURRENDER PRISONER EX: 1758. Drucour to the right on one knee, handing his sword to Boscawen. Copper; size, 26 m.

The "Annual Register" (London, 1762) gives a description of a magnificent building of the Ionic order which the Earl Temple erected at Stowe and dedicated to "Concordiae et Victoriae." Among the fourteen medallions on the wall, representing England's victories on sea and land in the four quarters of the world, was one representing the taking of Louisbourg in 1758. See "Conquest of Canada" (Warburton, ii. 499).

XIII. THE MICMAC INDIANS AND THEIR LANGUAGE.

It appears well established that "Acadie" is a French version of a Micmac affix, *ākāde*, signifying a place or land or district, or other cognate term, invariably used in connection with another word to show some natural characteristic of the locality. We find the first mention of the name in the letters-patent of 1603, granted to Sieur de Mons, who was given the right to settle and inhabit "les terres, costes et païs de Cadie et aultres circonvoisins en l'estendue du 40^e degré jusqu'au 46^e" (see "Quebec Documents," i. 46). Forming part of a compound word *ākāde* sometimes might be mistaken for *kādie*, as it may be easily understood by reference to the following interesting list taken from Dr. Rand's Micmac dictionary:

1. Wōbe-ākāde.....Swan-land (now Broad River Lake in N.S.).
2. Apchechkūmoochwā-ākāde Duck-place (Canard River, N.S.).
3. Kītpōoa-ākāde..... Cape Shubenacadie (meaning not given).
4. Booslooā-ākāde..... Cape Traverse ("bouselooa" meaning to travel by water).
5. Ootkoodākūna-kāde..... Grave-yard.
6. Kūlūmooēchwōpskwā-ākāde Coal-mine.
7. Wikpeā-ākāde..... Elm-grove.
8. Nūmāchwā-ākāde Fish-place.
9. Utkogūn-ākāde..... Indian harbour (meaning not given).
10. 'Mskegooa-ākāde Grass-field.
11. Sooleāw-ākāde..... Silver-mine.
12. Kūsāwogwā-ākāde Iron-mine.
13. Soolā-ākāde Mira river (meaning not given).
14. Wēnjoosoon-ākāde..... Apple-place or orchard.
15. Madooesw-ākāde Porcupine-place.
16. Bāslooā-ākāde..... St. Peter's island (meaning not given).
17. Segubun-ākāde..... Ground-nut place (Shubenacadie).

A note by the editor of Dr. Kohl's "Documentary History of Maine, in the collections of the Maine Historical Society (i. 234, 235, n), on the authority of Porter C. Bliss, a thorough student of the Indian dialects, gives the same meaning to Acadie, whose "origin is *ahki*, land or place, with *da*, a particle of admiration added; translated by *Rale*, voilà, there, implying abundance." Rev. Dr. Patterson, in his "History of the County of Pictou, N.S." (Montreal, etc., 1877) tells us that "every prominent object, whether hill or river, streamlet or lake, headland or island, had its appropriate designation in their [Micmacs] language," and he gives (pp. 31, 32) a few of the Micmac names with the meanings, obviously furnished by Dr. Rand, from whom I have quoted the foregoing list. See also Gesner, "Resources of Nova Scotia" (Halifax, 1849), pp. 2, 31.

Reference has been made more than once in these notes to "The Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians, who reside in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, P. E. Island, Cape Breton and Newfoundland," by the Rev. Silas Tertius Rand, D.D. (Halifax, 1888). The compiler of this valuable dictionary was for more than fifty years a missionary among the Micmac Indians of the maritime provinces of Canada. He translated and published the whole of the new and portions of the Old Testament in the Micmac language, and arranged as many as 40,000 words in alphabetical order. He also constructed a Micmac grammar and reader. Leland in his "Algonquin Legends" gives a number of Micmac tales contributed by Dr. Rand. The Parliament of Canada made an appropriation to aid the publication of the English-Micmac portion of his laborious studies, and the other part—the Micmac-English—is also in their hands, and it is hoped will soon be published. His investigations have been of great value to the philologist and antiquarian. Dr. Rand was a fine scholar and familiar with Hebrew,

Syriac and other tongues, modern and ancient. He translated a number of hymns into Latin—one of them, the Rock of Ages, is especially meritorious. He was a native of Nova Scotia—of the beautiful country first inhabited by the Acadians, and died at Hantsport, the entrance of the land of Evangeline, in 1889.

On the subject of the early history of the Micmac Indians consult L'Escarbot, "La Conversion des Sauvages qui ont été baptistes dans la Nouvelle France cette année, 1610, avec un recit du Voyage du Sieur de Poutrincourt" (see "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of America," iv. 150; Sabin, Harris, No. 21); "Champlain" (Laverdière's ed.), 115, 184, 728, 743; Williamson, "History of Maine," p. 478; Denys, "Amérique Septentrionale," vol. ii; Le Clercq, "Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie" (Paris, 1691); "Relations des Jesuites" (Quebec, 1858), i. 2-31 (index is inaccurate under head of Souriquois, year 1666 being given for 1611, Biard's Relation); *ib.* 42-44 (Cape Breton especially referred to), iii. 7-10; Pichon "Memoirs," Letters VII-X; Hannay, "History of Acadia," 13, 43-58, 90, etc. Murdoch and Haliburton in their histories of Nova Scotia, and Garneau in his "History of Canada," have frequent references to their habits and condition during the French régime. Brown, "History of Cape Breton," Letter X, reviews their state very fully, and has besides numerous references throughout the work. Diéreville, "Relation des Voyage du Port Royal, de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle-France, etc." (in 1708), in prose and verse, describes the manners, superstitions and pursuits of the Indians of Nova Scotia.

The condition of the Indians in 1757-58 is described by a French missionary in a pamphlet published in London in 1758 as "An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmacs and Maricheets, savage nations now dependent on the Government of Cape Breton" (Field, Ind. Bibliog., No. 1062; Quaritch, No. 29, 934; "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.," v. 452; J. G. Shea, in 'Hist. Mag.,' v. 290; 'Nor. Am. Rev.,' cxii, Jan., 1871.) The first Micmac grammar was that by the Abbé Maillard, a French missionary, for many years at Louisbourg and at St. Peter's, and in eastern Nova Scotia until 1759, when he was induced to go to Halifax and use his influence to quiet the Micmacs. He was in the pay of the British government from that time, and died in 1768. (See Akins, "Nova Scotia Documents," 184, *n.*) His grammar was arranged by J. M. Bellenger and published in New York in 1864 (Cramoisy), but only a hundred copies are reported to have been printed (4to., 101 pp.; Dufosse's Cat., No. 49,203). In the "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of America" (iv. 268, 269) there is a brief summary of the work done in the Micmac mission from 1634-1768. In the 'Trans. Roy. Soc. of Lit.,' xiv. 1887, C. Godfrey Leland has a paper on "The Mythology, Legends and Folk-lore of the Algonquins," which subsequently appeared in a separate form. His interesting work on "The Algonquin Legends of New England; or, Myths and Folk-lore of the Micmac, Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Tribes," was published in 1884 at Boston. He can trace in the legends and myths of the Indians evidence of the old Norse voyages. The Micmacs are even believed by Professor Storm to be the Skraelings of the Norsemen. (See 'Scottish Review' for October, 1891, p. 361; Sir Dan. Wilson, in 'Trans. Roy. Soc. of Can.,' viii. sec. 2, art. 3.)

XIV. THE ACADIAN FRENCH IN CAPE BRETON.

"La France aux Colonies : Études sur le développement de la Race française hors de l'Europe, par E. Rameau" (Paris, 1859), contains an interesting account of the Acadian French population in the island of Cape Breton (pp. 3, 71-79, 147-149), with the view of showing its development since the days of the French rule. From this work we obtain the following estimates of the French population of Cape Breton, at different dates after the taking of Louisbourg and the removal of its garrison and inhabitants to France :

In 1758..... 1,000, two-thirds Acadian, settled on the coast and the Labrador (Bras d'Or). This is obviously an over-estimate.	In 1827..... 6,000 1838..... 9,500
1859—RICHMOND COUNTY.	CAPE BRETON COUNTY.
Ardoise..... 1,200	Little Bras d'Or..... 600
Bourgeois..... 700	
Arichat and Descousse..... 5,700	INVERNESS COUNTY.
St. Pierre, Rivière des Habitants, etc..... 1,500	Marguérite (Margaree), Cheticamp, etc..... 4,000
9,100	Total in 1859..... 13,700

By the census of 1881 the French population of Cape Breton was given at 12,426 souls, distributed as follows :

INVERNESS.		RICHMOND.	
Marguërite (Margaree) Harbour.....	1,039	Petit Degrat.....	1,626
Cheticamp	2,350	D'Escousse.....	1,261
Young's Bridge and other places scattered at the North.....	246	L'Ardoise.....	1,501
	<hr/> 3,635	Arichat and West Arichat	1,844
		River Bourgeois.....	688
		River Inhabitants (Rivière des Habitants)....	244
		St. Peter's.....	180
		Other places	4
			<hr/> 7,348
CAPE BRETON.		VICTORIA.	
Sydney, Ball's Creek, Lingan, Manadiett, Boul- laderie, Catalogne and East Bay (Louis- bourg claimed only nine persons of French descent), in all.....	1,336	Inganiche.....	107
		Bay North and Bay of St. Lawrence.....	4

It seems as if Mr. Rameau's estimates were considerably beyond the mark. For instance, the figures he gives for 1859—13,700—are contradicted by the census of 1861, which distributes the Acadian population as follows :

Richmond.....	5,733
Inverness.....	2,104
Cape Breton.....	362
	<hr/> 8,199

No statistics are given for Victoria county, but they would not probably add more than 100 to the whole number. It is impossible to believe that there could have been such a decrease in two years as a comparison of the figures for 1859 and 1861 would indicate. The French Acadians of Cape Breton then only emigrated year by year in small numbers. Probably the census of 1861 was not very accurately taken. Indeed the report itself admits that the enumerators found many persons unwilling to give information, "professing to believe that the object of taking the census was for the purpose of imposing taxation." The Acadians were probably among this number. A people who are in a minority, and form a separate isolated class in a community, are likely to look with suspicion on an enumeration of their numbers and property. Few of them in those days were well informed and educated. But making every allowance for the imperfections of the census returns they do not fully explain the large discrepancies between 13,700 and 8,299. Indeed, making an allowance for a natural increase of 2 per cent. a year based on the census, which showed an average increase of 20 per cent. in ten years over the whole province—and, in fact, in Richmond it was 22 per cent.—we have a still greater difference between the two sets of figures. Consequently we have no doubt that Mr. Rameau has greatly exaggerated the numbers, and contributed to create the wrong impression that the race in Cape Breton is decreasing in a large proportion from emigration and other causes. A much higher authority in such matters, Mr. Taché, long connected with the department of agriculture of Canada as deputy minister, and a *littérateur* of some note, has given us some interesting statistics relating to the Acadian French of Cape Breton in the introduction to the census reports for 1871. He gives a table from which we learn that there were in Cape Breton :

In 1749.....	1,000 Acadian French.
1755.....	3,000 before and after the expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia.
1756.....	2,500
1758.....	700 after taking of Louisbourg.
1763.....	780
1765.....	800
1771.....	920
1871.....	10,864

Accordingly since 1758 the Acadians have increased from 700 to probably 15,000 souls at the present time, supposing the rate of increase to have been the same during the decade ending in 1891, as it was in the decades of 1861-1871, and 1871-1881. For many years there has been a small migration of French Acadians from Cape Breton, especially among young women who have gone to the United States for employment, but the rate, I think, will be found small compared with the emigration of the English-speaking peoples from the island. For other references to the French population of Cape Breton see Pichon's *Mémoires*; Haliburton's *History*; Taché, "Projet

d'union fédérale pour les provinces de l'Amérique Anglaise" (1858); "Census of Canada for 1871 and 1881" (Government of Canada), Ottawa; Fontaine's edition of "De Diéreville en Acadie" (Quebec, 1885). In an elaborate paper by the Abbé Casgrain on "La Dispersion des Acadiens," (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., v, sec. 1) the reader will find numerous references to the Acadians of Cheticamp and other parts of Cape Breton. A paper in the 'Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society' for 1889-91 (Halifax, 1891), by Dr. Allison, superintendent of education (see pp. 55-59), estimates the number of Acadian French in Cape Breton at only 271 in 1767—too low an estimate, not supported by the information I have gathered from all sources. Dr. Taché's estimate of all the French in the island in 1765 at 800 is nearly correct. In 1766 a considerable number came into the island, as I have shown in the text, sec. X.

XV.—GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Sir Hovenden Walker printed in London a vindication against charges of incompetency and peculation that were made—and properly too, we can believe, as to the first count—against himself. His account of his visit to the harbour of Sydney, mentioned in the text of this monograph, is necessarily brief, and evidently written to show that he had asserted England's claim to Eastern America. This attempted vindication had for its title: "A Journal: or full account of the late expedition to Canada, with an appendix containing commissions, orders, instructions, letters, memorials, courts-martial, councils of war, etc., relating thereto

" Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare: Sapienter idem
Contrahe ventum nimium secundo
Turgida Vela

—*Hor. Lib. 2, Ode 10,*

London: printed for D. Browne at the Black Swan, etc., 1720." See an excellent resumé of the journal in "De Tribord à Babord; Trois Croisières dans le Golfe Saint Laurent," by Faucher de St. Maurice (Montreal, 1877).

The reader will be interested in the references to Cape Breton in "A concise account of North America, containing a description of the several British colonies on that continent, including the islands of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, to which is subjoined an account of the several nations and tribes of Indians residing in those parts," (London, 1765, 271 pp., with a map). The author was Major Robert Rogers, a famous commander of the "Rangers" during the old French war. He describes his adventures in his well known 'Journals' (London, 1765; Dublin, 1769). He played a doubtful part in the war of independence, and finally raised the Queen's Rangers, who were very effective on the English side. See Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe."

"Mémoire historique sur la négociation de la France et de l'Angleterre depuis le 26 Mars 1761, jusqu'au 20 Septembre de la même année avec les pièces justificatives," (Paris, 1761), shows efforts made by France to retain Cape Breton.

A curious and rare book is now before the writer: "A statement submitted by Lieut.-Colonel DesBarres for consideration, respecting his services from the year 1755, to the present time—in the capacity of an officer and engineer during the war of 1756—the utility of his surveys and publications of the coasts and harbours of North America, intituled, 'The Atlantic Neptune'—and his proceedings and conduct as lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's colony of Cape Breton." The book is in large folio, and contains 108 pages, but neither the date of publication nor the name of the printer appears on the title page. It contains a most minute recapitulation of DesBarres's claims against the English government. It is obvious from the facts and documents set forth that he was badly treated. The work gives some insight into the entire absence of interest in England in the affairs of so insignificant a colony as Cape Breton. The nature of the squabbles between the governor and the military at Sydney is set forth with elaborate detail. The governor, it is clear, acted for the best and deserved more consideration than he ever received from indifferent officials in London. The biographical sketch of Governor DesBarres in Appleton's "Cyclopædia of American Biography" (New York, 1887) states that "he wrote a work on Cape Breton, which was printed privately (London, 1804), but afterwards suppressed." I cannot verify the existence of any work by him on Cape Breton except the "statement" of his case under consideration, in which there is a great deal of valuable information respecting the settlement, the natural advantages and the condition of the island during his governorship. Brown (History, 388) makes use of this work in giving an account of his services and of his official career in Cape Breton. In 1805 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward Island, no doubt as an acknowledgment that he was deserving of better treatment than he had received for some years of his life, and he remained until 1813 in this position, which the historian of the island (Campbell, 61) says he filled with discretion, if not with the display of any signal ability. He died at Halifax in 1824 at the remarkable age of 102. He was father of the late Judge DesBarres, of the supreme court of Nova Scotia (See "Murdoch, ii. 441; iii. 523.)

Hon. W. Smith, who was formerly surgeon on the military establishment of Cape Breton (see *supra*, sec. VIII) and chief-justice in 1799, was author of "A Caveat against Emigration to America, with the state of the Island of Cape Breton, from the year 1784 to the present year; and suggestions for the benefit of the British Settlements in North America" (London, 1803, pp. 158, 8vo.) See Morgan's "Bibliotheca Canadensis."

In the second volume of "The British Dominions in North America, etc.," by Joseph Bouchette, surveyor-general of Lower Canada (London, 1832, 2 vols., pp. 72-92), there are two chapters giving a topographical and statistical account of the island, including a description and three sketches of the dangerous rocky island, ten miles northeast of Cape Breton, known as St. Paul's Island. Much of the information in these chapters is taken from Haliburton's and McGregor's accounts of the island. Bouchette's works in their day were of great value to Canada—indeed the most accurate and complete of their kind ever published in the Dominion. He was the English surveyor who, with the United States surveyor, John Johnson, erected a new monument in 1817, under the treaty of Ghent, at the source of the St. Croix river, which had been determined by commissioners in 1798, under the treaty of 1794. (See vol. i, pp. 13-14.)

Valuable references to the importance and natural advantages of Cape Breton will be found in "The Industrial Resources of Nova Scotia, etc.," by Abraham Gesner, surgeon, fellow of the Geological society, etc. (Halifax, 1849). Dr. Gesner was a scientific man of fair attainments. He visited Cape Breton in the flagship of the famous Earl of Dundonald, who took much interest in the scientific investigations of the author. The admiral was an uncle of the Dundonald who was surprised at a redoubt near the shore and killed by the French in a sortie during the siege of 1758; for Dr. Gesner is wrong in stating that "he fell in approaching the fortress along the line of the sea-wall." (See *supra*, sec. VII, and Brown, 310.) He devotes a number of pages (300-312) to a general description of the climate, scenery and resources of the island, as well as to the appearance of Louisbourg in 1849. Like all other persons who have visited and studied the island of Cape Breton, Dr. Gesner had a high opinion of its natural advantages. "A glance at the map," he says on p. 312, "would almost satisfy the inveterate sceptic that nowhere can there be found a position so favourable for maritime pursuits as that of Cape Breton. It was with this view that France expended her millions of livres in fortifying Louisbourg. Where are there to be found such harbours, mines, fisheries, facilities of inland transport and schools for seamen, and to these has been added a soil capable of yielding the ordinary bounties produced by husbandry."

Judge Marshall, who was the first judge appointed to the island after its annexation to Nova Scotia in 1820, left behind him a short monograph giving his personal reminiscences of the hardships and difficulties that attended a judicial circuit in those days, "when large portions of my journeys were performed in Indian canoes, in which I have sometimes passed the greater part or the whole of the night, occasionally paddling to lessen chilliness, and to afford the poor, tired squaw a partial relief." The old judge—he died in his 94th year—describes the lawless elements which existed during his time in this sparsely settled island. (See "The late Judge Marshall; or, the Record of an Earnest Life," by J. G. Bourinot, in 'Canadian Monthly,' 1880.)

The wreck of the *Augusta*, mentioned in sec. XI, is described in "Les Anciens Canadiens," by Philippe Aubert de Gaspé (Quebec, 1863, and Montreal, 1886), whose chief merit is that he has given us a faithful record of the times of which he writes and preserved memoirs of events which otherwise would have disappeared with those who had taken part in them. General Murray was responsible for sending the unfortunate people in the wretched old hulk, which went ashore in the fall of 1761, apparently from the description, on the northeastern coast of Cape Breton, a little south of Cape North. Only five or six passengers were saved; these succeeded at last in reaching the Acadian settlements, the names of which are not given. Among these was M. de la Corne de Saint-Luc, who published an account of the disaster at Montreal in 1778, from which M. de Gaspé corrected his own version, at first largely drawn from the memory of stories told him by members of his own family. See an excellent translation of the book by Prof. Roberts, the Canadian poet (New York, 1890); also LeMoine's "Maple Leaves," new series, 79, 115; Faucher de St. Maurice, "De Tribord à Babord," 186-189.

"A History of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, the Sable Islands, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, the Bermudas, Newfoundland," by R. Montgomery Martin, F.S.S. (London, 1837), contains two chapters, of forty-five pages in all, describing the history, the geography, the physical features, the geology and the products of Cape Breton. The historical part, which is very imperfect, is made up of information furnished him by Judge Haliburton, the author of the history already mentioned. The description of the natural features and resources is interesting and correct for the time when written. Martin wrote other works of the same character on the provinces of old Canada, and, like his book on the maritime provinces, their chief value lies in the statistical statements. Works of the same class were J. McGregor's "British America, etc." (Edinburgh, 1832, 2 vols.), and Hugh Murray's "British America, etc." (Edinburgh, 1839, 3 vols.)

Hugh Gray, in a series of letters written from Canada during 1806-1808 (London, 1809; 2nd ed. 1814), dwells on the commercial importance of Cape Breton.

"Journal of Visitation in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, and along the eastern shore of New Brunswick in the summer and autumn of 1843," by Rt. Rev. John Inglis, bishop of Nova Scotia (London, 1844). The author, who gives some interesting details of Cape Breton, was a son of the first bishop of the Church of England appointed in the British colonies in America (in 1787), and who had been previously rector of Trinity Church, New York.

In "Our Own Country, Canada, Scenic and Descriptive, being an account of the extent, resources, physical aspect, cities and chief towns of the provinces of Nova Scotia, etc.," by Rev. W. H. Withrow, D.D., F.R.S.C. (Toronto, 1889), we have a description of the scenery of Canseau, Ile Madame, Bras d'Or, Sydney, Louisbourg, with views of a fishing village, of Louisbourg, and of modern aspects of life and industry in the island.

"Baddeck and that Sort of Thing" (Boston, 1874) represents the humour of Charles Dudley Warner, to whom the pretty village on the Bras d'Or owes its present fame. The historian, like the tourist, will find the little volume a source of amusement in summer days, when he and all the world seek relief from the ordinary vocations of life, and have no desire to take books and things too much *au sérieux*.

"Picturesque Canada" (Toronto), edited by Very Reverend Principal Grant, and illustrated under the supervision of the Canadian artist, L. R. O'Brien, Pres. R.C.A., contains, towards the close of the second volume (pp. 841-852), a brief description of the island, its history, scenery and resources, and several illustrations of North Sydney, of Caledonian mines, of the ruins of Louisbourg, of the new town near the railway pier, and of Lake Catalogne. A sketch of the Tantramar marshes in Cumberland Co., N.S., however, is misplaced in a sketch of Cape Breton. The writer suggests a memorial on the site of Louisbourg to commemorate the achievements of 1745-1758.

In 1873 a committee of the House of Commons of Canada was appointed (see Jour., App. No. 5) to report on the shortest route for mails and passengers between America and Europe. Tables of distances are given between points in Europe and the ports of Louisbourg and of Shippegan on the eastern coast of New Brunswick—a place to which attention was being drawn at that time with a view of creating trade for the Intercolonial railroad. The committee were in favour of Louisbourg, which "has the great advantage of being reported to be open and accessible throughout the entire winter season; of being from sixty to one hundred miles nearer Europe than Shippegan, in the direct line of ocean travel between Europe and the northern ports of the United States, and of possessing large and valuable coal fields in its immediate vicinity where coaling could be effected at a lower rate than any place in Britain or America."

An illustration of the efforts of the people of the almost forgotten island, many years ago, to compete for a space of the great European traffic is a little pamphlet before me with the title: "European and American Railway Terminus—Sydney, Cape Breton, the nearest port in British North America to Europe," printed in 1851, on very common paper, at the office of the *Cape Breton News*, for many years the only paper published in the island. It represents the advantages of the noble port of Sydney as a railway terminus compared with Louisbourg and other places in Eastern America, but forty years have passed since the pamphlet was printed, and of the committee of twenty-five gentlemen appointed to draft a report only two have lived to see a railway in 1890 opened to Sydney. In fact, of the 125 persons who signed the requisition to call the public meeting from which the report in the pamphlet emanated only thirteen remain. The following are the names of the committee, with those living in italics: Hon. Mr. Justice Dodd, Hon. J. McKeagney, M.E.C., M.P.P., W. H. Munro, M.P.P., James McLeod, M.P.P.; C. E. Leonard, Custos; P. H. Clarke, agent for Lloyds; Richard Brown, agent for the Mining Association (the historian of Cape Breton); T. D. Archibald (afterwards Senator), J. Bourinot (afterwards Senator), *E. P. Archbold*, P. Moore, G. H. Gesner, Capt. Ouseley, H. Davenport, E. Sutherland, H. Munro, N. H. Martin, Wm. Gammell, Thomas Brown, D. N. McQueen, *A. F. Haliburton*, L. Robertson, John Ferguson, D. B. McNab and J. Robertson. The High Sheriff at the time was Richard Gibbons (now dead), a grandson of the first chief justice of the island, and president of the first council under DesBarres. Several of the persons named, like Leonard, Brown, Moore, Gesner, Gammell, were descendants of New England families.

Few romances have had their scenes in Cape Breton. W. C. McKinnon, a relative of the W. McKinnon who was provincial secretary and clerk of the council in 1792, wrote several remarkably hysterical books: "St. Castine: a Legend of Cape Breton" (Cape Breton, 1850); "Frances; or, Pirate Cove" (Halifax, 1851); "St. George; or, the Canadian League" (Halifax, 1852). See Morgan's "Bibliotheca Canadensis." Mr. McKinnon subsequently atoned for his youthful vagaries in writing such tales of murder, rapine and intrigue by becoming a clergyman of the Methodist Church. C. W. Hall, a member of the Massachusetts bar, who was born in Prince Edward Island, wrote "Twice Taken: an historical romance of the Maritime Provinces" (Boston, 1867). It records the fall of Louisbourg, and is an improvement on the former works. See *ibid.*

In the 'Canadian Archives' for 1891 there is a list of loyalist families who wished in 1784 to emigrate to Cape Breton (p. 21). Also several letters from Lieutenant-Governor Macarmick with reference to the defenceless state of the island in 1790-93 (pp. 41-44).

S. E. Dawson's 'Handbook of the Dominion' (Montreal, 1888) contains an interesting historical and descriptive sketch of the island, pp. 88-98.

In 'The Dominion Monthly' (Montreal, 1869) there is an article on the island of Cape Breton, by John George Bourinot. In 'Stewart's Literary Quarterly Magazine' (St. John, N.B., 1870) there is an article by the same writer on "The Island of Cape Breton: Its History, Scenery and Resources." In 'The Canadian Monthly and National Review' (Toronto, 1874) he has also a paper on "The Old Forts of Acadia," in which a brief description is given of Louisbourg as it appeared in 1870. The same material is used in a paper in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society,' "Some Old Forts by the Sea," vol. i, sec. 2 (1883). The 'Transactions of the Geographical Society of Quebec' (vol. i, No. 2, 1881) contain a paper read before that society by the same writer on "Cape Breton, the Long Wharf of the Dominion," xiii, pp. 800. These several papers do not pretend to any special original research, but are only intended to give a present view of an island so interesting for its past history and natural beauty. In 'The Magazine of American History' for March, 1891, there is a paper by the same writer on "Once Famous Louisbourg." See also Belfast (Maine) 'Republican Journal,' Jan. 14, 1892, for article on "Louisbourg, 1891."

The geology of the island of Cape Breton has been investigated by eminent men like Sir W. Dawson and Mr. Richard Brown before the confederation of the provinces, and by Mr. Hugh Fletcher, Mr. Robb and other members of the able staff of the Geological Survey of Canada since 1867. Much information on the coal-fields of the island, in a popular and practical form, is contained in "Coal-fields of Cape Breton," by R. Brown (the historian of the island, London, 1871); "Coal-fields of Nova Scotia," by J. Rutherford (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1871); "Acadian Geology," by Dr. (now Sir W.) Dawson (London, 1868, and subsequent editions); "Mineralogy of Nova Scotia," by Professor How (Halifax, 1869). Elaborate reports on the coal and mineral deposits of the island will be found in the 'Reports of Progress' annually issued by the Geological Survey of Canada; see volumes for 1872-3, 1873-4, 1874-5, 1875-6, 1877-8, 1878-9, 1879-80, 1880-1-2; 1882-3-4 (especially valuable since it shows the great number of economic values in the island), 1887-8 (coal statistics of Cape Breton during 1887, Part II, Rep. S., 15, 16), 1888-89 (coal statistics of Cape Breton, Rep. S., 16-19). Not the least valuable portions of these reports are the chemical contributions by Mr. G. C. Hoffmann, chemist and mineralogist to the survey, on the work done in the laboratory, with the object of showing the economic value of the various specimens of minerals brought from the island. Statistics of the production, value of exports and imports of minerals in Cape Breton, as well as in other parts of Canada, are given annually in the reports of the survey. Geological maps accompany the reports whenever necessary to illustrate the subject. The annual reports of the department of mines of Nova Scotia contain complete accounts of the condition of the collieries of Cape Breton, with statistics of their output and sales. In addition to these reports, the reader may consult with advantage "Coal-mining in Nova Scotia" (Montreal, 1888), by Mr. E. Gilpin, F. R. S. C., M. Can. Soc. C. E., inspector of Nova Scotia mines, in which appear some interesting historical details. Another paper on the "Geology of Cape Breton" appears in the 'Quarterly Journal' of the Geological Society of London for November, 1886. See also, by the same, a paper on 'Manganese Ores of Nova Scotia' ('Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.' 1884, sec. 4), and a series of papers on the "Carboniferous of Cape Breton" ('Trans. N. S. Inst. of Nat. Sci.' 1886, 1887, 1888), and on the "Minerals of the Carboniferous" (Jan. 14, 1889), and on the "Devonian of Cape Breton" (*ib.*, April 14, 1890).

XVI. TREATIES AND PROCLAMATIONS RELATING TO CAPE BRETON.

A. *Extracts from the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.*

The Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the Most Serene and Most Potent Princess Anne, by the Grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince Lewis the XIVth, the Most Serene and Most Potent Christian King, concluded at Utrecht the 31st day of March, [11th April, new style], 1713.

XII. The Most Christian King shall take care to have delivered to the Queen of Great Britain, on the same day that the ratification of this treaty shall be exchanged, solemn and authentic letters or instruments, by virtue of which it shall appear that the island of St. Christopher's is to be possessed alone hereafter by British subjects, likewise all Nova Scotia or Acadie, with its ancient boundaries, as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, and all other things in those parts which depend on the said lands and islands, together with the dominion, property and possession of the said islands, lands and places, and all right whatsoever, by treaties or by any other way obtained, which the Most Christian King, the Crown of France, or any of the subjects thereof, have hitherto had to the said islands, lands and places, and the inhabitants of the same, are yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain, and to her Crown, for ever, as the Most Christian King doth at present yield and make over all the particulars above said; and that in such ample manner and form that the subjects of the Most Christian King shall hereafter be excluded from all kind of fishing in the said seas, bays and other places on the coasts of Nova Scotia; that is to say, on those which lie towards the east within 30 leagues, beginning from the island commonly called Sable, inclusively, and thence stretching along towards the southwest.

B. Extract from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

IX. . . . Whereas it is not possible, considering the distance of the countries, that what relates to America should be effected within the same time, or even to fix the time of its entire execution, his Britannic Majesty likewise engages on his part to send to his Most Christian Majesty, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, two persons of rank and consideration, who shall remain there as hostages, till there shall be received a certain and authentic account of the restitution of Isle Royale, called Cape Breton, and of all the conquests which the arms or subjects of his Britannic Majesty may have made before or after the signing of the preliminaries, in the East or West Indies. . . . Provided, nevertheless, that Isle Royale, called Cape Breton, shall be restored, with all the artillery and warlike stores which shall have been found therein on the day of its surrender, conformably to the inventories which have been made thereof, and in the condition that the said place was on the said day of its surrender.

C. Extracts from the Treaty of Paris.

The Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between his Britannic Majesty the Most Christian King and the King of Spain, concluded at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763. To which the King of Portugal acceded on the same day.

IV. His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form to Nova Scotia or Acadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain; moreover his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river St. Lawrence, and, in general, everything that depends on the said countries, lands, islands and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the Most Christian King and the Crown of France have had till now over the said countries, islands, places, coasts and their inhabitants, so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over to the said king and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possession above mentioned. His Britannic Majesty on his side agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada; he will consequently give the most precise and most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic Majesty further agrees that the French inhabitants, or others who have been subjects of the Most Christian King in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions; the term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

V. The subjects of the King of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying, on a part of the coasts of the Island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht, which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty, except what relates to the Island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Lawrence; and his Britannic Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the Most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the Island of Cape Breton out of the said gulph, the subjects of the Most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the Island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coast of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

D. Proclamation of 1763—Establishment of Cape Breton as a separate colony—Royal instructions respecting Cape Breton, etc.

A document of interest in connection with the later history of Cape Breton is: "The Petitioner's Case. In the matter of the petition of certain inhabitants of the island of Cape Breton against the annexation of that island to the province of Nova Scotia. In the Privy Council. George C. Hardingham, Lincoln's Inn" (London, 1843). This is the case of the island as presented to the Privy Council of England and set forth by Henry Bliss, colonial counsel for the petitioners. It contains a long and accurate summary of historical facts from the voyages of Cabot and Gilbert until the final annexation of the island to Nova Scotia. This document is rare, and the copy in my possession was given me by the late Mr. Justice Dodd, a resident of Sydney and a son of the first chief justice of the island. I give from this document the following extracts from proclamations and other official papers relating to Cape Breton:—

On the 7th of October, 1763, the celebrated proclamation of the third year of the reign of George the Third was issued annexing the islands of St. John (now Prince Edward) and of Cape Breton to the government of Nova Scotia.

The following extracts from this proclamation relate to the present inquiry:

"We have thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving subjects that we have, with the advice of our said Privy Council, granted our

Letters Patent, under our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect within the Countries and Islands ceded and confirmed to us by the said Treaty, four distinct and separate Governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.:

"First, the Government of Quebec, bounded," etc.

"Secondly, the Government of East Florida, bounded," etc.

"Thirdly, the Government of West Florida, bounded," etc.

"Fourthly, the Government of Grenada, comprehending the Island of that name, together with the Grenadines and the Islands of Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago.

"And to the end that the open and free Fishery of our subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the Coast of Labrador and the adjacent Islands, we have thought fit, with the advice of our said Privy Council, to put all that Coast, from the River St. John's to Hudson's Straights, together with the Islands of Anticosta and Madelane, and all other smaller Islands lying upon the said Coast, under the care and inspection of our Governor of Newfoundland.

"We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council, thought fit to annex the Islands of St. John and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser Islands adjacent thereto, to our Government of Nova Scotia.

"We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council aforesaid, annexed to our Province of Georgia all the lands lying between the Rivers Attamaha and St. Mary's."

In 1784 (16th August), the province of Nova Scotia was divided by the king's letters-patent, constituting all the parts north of the Bay of Fundy a separate province, named New Brunswick, and appointing Thomas Carleton captain-general and governor-in-chief in and over the same.

In the same year (3rd September, 1784), letters-patent were also issued appointing Joseph Frederick Walle DesBarres, Esquire, lieutenant-governor of Cape Breton and its dependencies, and directing him to "exercise and enjoy the said office of Lieutenant-Governor of our said Island and its dependencies, with such powers and authorities, and according to such directions as are or shall be expressed in our Commissions and Instructions to our Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of our Province of Nova Scotia and our Islands of St. John and Cape Breton, now and for the time being."

Afterwards and about the same time also (11th September, 1784), the commission of the Governor of Nova Scotia was revoked and a new one issued to the same person, John Parr, Esquire, which, after reciting a former commission to him as governor-in-chief of Nova Scotia, including the island of Cape Breton, and excepting the island of St. John (Prince Edward), "which we had thought fit to erect into a separate Government;" and after further reciting that "His Majesty, in the ninth year of his reign, had been pleased to appoint Walter Patterson, Esquire, to be Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over our Island of St. John and territories adjacent thereto in America," and had also "thought fit to erect that part of our Province of Nova Scotia lying to the northward of the Bay of Fundy into a separate Province by the name of New Brunswick," proceeds as follows: "We have thought fit to re-annex the Island of St. John and its dependencies to our Government of Nova Scotia;" and then goes on to revoke a former commission to the said governor-general of Nova Scotia, and also a former commission to Walter Patterson as governor-in-chief of St. John's Island; and, in the new commission to the governor-general of Nova Scotia, the description of its boundaries includes the Island of St. John as well as Cape Breton and all other islands within six leagues of the coast. And this new commission further thus pledges the faith of the Crown, and confers as well on the island of Cape Breton as on Nova Scotia and on the island of Prince Edward, separately, distinctly and respectively, full legislative power in these words: "And we do hereby require and command you to do and execute all things in due manner that shall belong to your said command and the trust we have reposed in you, according to the several powers and authorities granted or appointed you by the present Commission and Instructions herewith given you, or by such further powers, instructions and authorities as shall at any time hereafter be granted or appointed you under our Signet and Sign Manual, or by our Order in our Privy Council, and according to such reasonable laws and statutes as are now in force, or shall hereafter be made or agreed upon by you, with the advice and consent of our respective Councils and Assemblies of our Province of Nova Scotia and our Islands of St. John and Cape Breton, under your Government. And we do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority, with the advice and consent of our said respective Councils, from time to time, as need shall require, to summon and call General Assemblies of the Freeholders and Planters within your Government, in such manner and form as has been already appointed and used, or according to such further powers, instructions and authorities as shall at any time hereafter be granted or appointed you under our Signet and Sign Manual, or by our Order in our Privy Council;" and further the commission proceeds: "And our will and pleasure is, that the persons thereupon duly elected by the major part of the freeholders of the respective Counties and Places, and so returned, shall before their sitting take the oaths mentioned in the first recited Act of Parliament altered as above, as also make and subscribe the aforementioned declaration, which oaths and declaration you shall commissionate fit persons, under our seals of Nova Scotia, St. John and Cape Breton, respectively, to tender and administer unto them; and until the same shall be taken and subscribed, no person shall be capable of sitting, though elected. And we do hereby declare that the persons so elected and qualified should be called and deemed the General Assembly of our Province of Nova Scotia, of our Island of St. John, and of our Island of Cape

Breton, respectively; and that you, the said John Parr, with the advice and consent of our said Councils and Assemblies, or the major part of them respectively, shall have full power and authority to make, constitute and ordain laws, statutes and ordinances for the public peace, welfare and good government of our said Province and Islands, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, and such others as shall resort thereunto, and for the benefit of us, our heirs and successors."

An instruction appears also to have been given to the said governor-general of a corresponding date, to the following purport, viz.: "And whereas the situation and circumstances of our Island of Cape Breton will not at present admit the calling of an Assembly, you or our Lieutenant-Governor of our said Island shall, until it appears expedient to call such Assembly, in the meantime make such rules and regulations, by the advice of our Council for the said Island, as shall appear to be necessary for the peace, order and good government thereof, taking care that nothing be passed or done that shall any way tend to affect the life, limb or liberty of the subject, or to the imposing of any duties or taxes, and that all rules and regulations be transmitted by the first opportunity after they are passed and made for our approbation or disallowance."

Further instructions from his majesty to the governor-general of Nova Scotia are found in the following words, viz.: "It is nevertheless our will and pleasure that due care be taken in all laws, statutes and ordinances passed in our Province of Nova Scotia that the same do not extend to our Islands of Prince Edward (formerly St. John's) and Cape Breton, under colour or pretence that our said Islands are included in this our Commission to you and are parts of our Government of Nova Scotia."

The same instructions add further: "And it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby declare and ordain, that all and singular the powers, authorities and directions in and by this our Commission given and granted to you, so far as the same extend and have relation to our Islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton and their respective dependencies, shall be executed and enjoyed by you, or the Commander-in-Chief of our Province of Nova Scotia, at such times only as he or you shall be actually upon the spot in either of our said Islands, but that at all other times all and singular the said powers, authorities and directions shall be executed and enjoyed by such persons whom we shall respectively appoint to be our Lieutenant-Governors of said Islands."

E. Proclamation re-annexing Cape Breton to Nova Scotia.

"A Proclamation by His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt, G.C.B., Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia and its dependencies, etc.

"Whereas his Majesty, with a view to promote the welfare of his faithful and loyal subjects of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, hath been graciously pleased to direct that the island of Cape Breton should be re-annexed to the Government of Nova Scotia, and the same island should from henceforth be and remain an integral part of the Government of Nova Scotia,

"I do therefore in pursuance of his Majesty's instructions, and by and with the advice of his Majesty's council, declare that the island of Cape Breton is, and from henceforth shall be and remain a several and distinct county of the province of Nova Scotia, to be called and known by the name of the county of Cape Breton, and to be represented, and the civil government thereof to be administered, in like manner as the other counties of the province are administered and governed.

"And in pursuance of his Majesty's instructions I have caused a writ, in the usual form, to be immediately issued, directed to the Provost-Marshal or his deputy, resident in the island, for the election of two members to serve in the General Assembly of Nova Scotia, being the number directed to be summoned to such assembly before the time when the said island was first separated from the province of Nova Scotia.

"And I do hereby, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, dissolve the council of the said island of Cape Breton.

"And that the peace and good order of the said island may be preserved, and justice duly administered therein, until more effectual provision shall be made by the legislature of Nova Scotia, or until further order shall be duly made therein, I do hereby authorize and require that all judges, justices of the peace, constables and other civic officers in commission in the said island, do continue in the execution of their respective offices, agreeably to the several ordinances passed by the governor and council of Cape Breton, and under which the colony, since its separation, has been hitherto administered.

"Given under my hand and seal at arms at Halifax, this ninth day of October, 1820, in the first year of his Majesty's reign, by his Excellency's command.

"RUPERT D. GEORGE,

"God save the King."

DOWNING STREET, June 2, 1846.

"MY LORD,—

"With reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 16th May, with its enclosure, on the question of the legality of the annexation in 1820 of the island of Cape Breton to Nova Scotia, and to previous despatches on the same subject, I have now to inform your Lordship that the petition addressed to the Queen-in-council by certain inhabitants of Cape Breton, praying for the separation of that island from Nova Scotia, having, by her Majesty's

commands, been referred to the judicial committee of the Privy Council, the hearing was brought on on the 1st April, and was continued to the 2nd, 6th and 7th of that month, when counsel were heard on behalf of the petitioners; and the attorney and solicitor-general were likewise heard on behalf of the Crown. A report has since been made, which her Majesty was pleased to approve on the 19th May, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, stating that 'the inhabitants of Cape Breton are not by law entitled to the constitution purported to be granted to them by the letters-patent of 1784, mentioned in the above petition.' I have to request that you should make known this decision to the inhabitants of the colony under your charge.

"I have the, etc., etc.,

"W. E. GLADSTONE.

"Lt.-Governor Viscount Falkland."

XVII. AN OFFICIAL FRENCH STATEMENT OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AT LOUISEBOURG IN 1753.

The following statement is copied from the "Archives Coloniales de la Marine," Paris, and is mentioned in M. Marmette's summary ("Can. Arch.," 1887, p. 371) as "an important document":—

"Colonies—Isle Royale—General correspondence—1753—M. de Raymond, governor. Vol. 33, c. 11, folio 221."

LOUISEBOURG, 1753.

"General enumeration of officers' quarters (pavilions), barracks, guardhouses, powder magazines, and all other buildings except provision stores in this place."

"Officers' Quarters:

"In this place there is only one building,¹ a pavilion, for the accommodation of officers, that generally known as the English quarters, situated on the platform (*terre-plein*) of the Queen's bastion. It has a length of 21 toises,² 14 ft. 6 in., and a breadth of 5 toises, 4 ft. 4 in. It was built entirely of wood—double thickness—by the English, with one story and a garret. It is covered with shingles and divided into 32 rooms of 16 ft. 6 in. in length and 13 ft. 6 in. in width each.

"Opposite the foregoing officers' quarters is a building with a length of 22 ft. 8 in. and width of 18 toises 5 ft., including a projection in front of 40 ft. in length and 3 ft. 10 in. in width. It was constructed in wood by the English, for the purposes of an hospital, and is covered with shingles. At the present time it is of no use, and in fact is not completed in all essential respects for the object contemplated.

"Barracks:

"In this place there are three separate barracks for the accommodation of the soldiers. The two first, generally known as the English barracks, have a length of 32 toises 2 ft. 6 in., and a breadth of 5 toises 3 ft. 6 in. each. They stand at the entrance of the Queen's bastion, and are built uniform with one story and a garret, entirely of wood and covered with shingles. They are divided each into 32 rooms of 20 ft. 7 in. in length and 16 ft. 3 in. in width. Total, 64 rooms.

"The third block of barracks of the fort is situated at the entrance of the king's bastion, and has a length of 42 toises 2 ft. and a width of 7 toises. It is built entirely of masonry with one story and a garret, covered with shingles, and divided into 36 rooms, of which 26 are 18 ft. square, and 10 are 12 ft. x 18 ft.

"Connected with the barracks are two pavilions, the one known as the government pavilion and the other as the old commissariat or intendency.

"The first pavilion has been always used by the government, and stands at the right end of the barracks. It is constructed of masonry, 8 toises 1 ft. in length and 7 toises in width, with subterraneous cellars, kitchens on the ground floor, and two stories for living rooms. It is covered with slate and is divided up as follows: On the ground floor are the kitchens and two apartments for the council.

"The first story comprises an office, a large ante-chamber or waiting room, a sleeping apartment, a dressing room, wardrobe and a private entrance for the master of the house. The second story is divided into three large rooms for the use of the servants. From this statement it is easy to judge that the accommodation is roomy and convenient in every respect.

"The second pavilion, known as the old intendency, is situated at the other end of the barracks in question, and is of the same size as the one just mentioned. Like that it is built with a ground floor, but it has only a story and a garret above. It is covered with shingles and divided into eight rooms, of which four are low and four high.

"Two blocks of buildings, generally known as the Queen's gate barracks, were also built by the English, with a length of 15 toises 5 ft. and a width of 3 toises 4 ft. 8 in. They are situated, one to the right and the other to the left, on this side of the guardhouse of the gate in question. They are slightly built of wood with a garret only, covered with shingles, and divided each into five rooms of 18 ft. square.

"It is noticeable that these barracks were built on a bottom of stone masonry, in a very flimsy manner and entirely in wood. It is then easy to understand that they are very cold and only suited for lodging the soldiers temporarily during the summer, and thirty-six men could not live in one of these rooms without suffering many inconveniences.

"At the entrance of each of these rooms is a front (*avant-corps*) 6 feet in length and of as many in width, raised about 2 feet above the level of the street, and intended to modify the severity of the cold.

¹ All these buildings are here referred to as numbered on an official plan in the government office. I have not been able to obtain this plan, but their location can be as a rule fixed by reference to the general plan of the town at the end of this work.

² A toise was an old long measure in France, containing 6 French feet or 6 ft. 4.73 English measurement.

" Buildings used as Lodgings :

"The quarters of the commissary, facing the quay, are enclosed in a space of 33 toises 4 ft. 6 in. in length and of 13 toises 5 ft. in width, and are covered with shingles. This building is not large enough for all the offices connected therewith.

"The quarters of the engineer, standing behind the storehouse for provisions, take up a space of 27 toises 1 ft. 6 in. in length and 16 toises 4 ft. 4 in. in width. This establishment, composed of a ground floor of one story under the garret, of a court, a backyard, a stable, a pigeon-house and a garden, has many advantages.

"The house of the executioner, behind the guardhouse of the Queen's gate, is built entirely of wood, with a length of 24 ft. 6 in. and a width of 13 ft. 6 in. This place is vacant in the absence of an executioner.

"The hospital takes up considerable space; its several buildings contain four halls, two above and two below, and seventy-four beds for as many sick. The establishment connected with this hospital is considerable; apart from the four halls, there are buildings for the accommodation of the Fathers of Charity and of the staff generally.

" Guardhouses ;

"There are in this place nine isolated buildings used as guardhouses, viz. :

"The two guardhouses of the Queen's gate, one to the right and the other to the left, built in masonry, 30 ft. in length and 20 in width, with a gallery of 6 ft. wide in front, and covered with slate.

"That on the right is divided into two equal parts, the one for the officer and the other as a storeroom for the supplies of the post.

"That on the left is also divided into two parts; in one, 20 ft. in length, are the soldiers, in the other are the latrines.

"The guardhouse of the Place d'Armes, in the covered way of the entrance of the King's bastion, is built of masonry, 34 ft. 4 in. in length and 20 ft. 3 in. in width, with a gallery of 6 ft. wide in front. It is covered with shingles, and divided into two parts, of which one, 9 ft. 6 in. in length, is used by the officers, and the other, 20 ft. long, by the soldiers.

"The guardhouse on the platform of the Dauphin bastion is 48 ft. in length and 29 in width, built of masonry, covered with shingles, and divided into two parts, of which one is for the soldiers and the other for the officer.

"The guardhouse at the right of the Dauphin gate is built of masonry, 16 ft. 6 in. in length by 15 ft. in width, and is covered with shingles.

"The guardhouse of the soldiers at the same gate, between the side face of the Cavalier or inner bastion and the rear of the surrounding wall, is constructed of masonry, 22 ft. 3 in. in length and 19 ft. 6 in. in width, and covered with shingles.

"The guardhouse of the Battery de la Grève, on the flank of the left face of the work in question, is built of masonry, 24 ft. in length and 22 ft. in width, with a large gallery of 9 ft. in the front, covered with shingles, and divided into two parts, one for the officer and the other for the soldiers, each of 24 ft. 10 in. In the rear, and running the length of the guardhouse is a wooden lean-to, 8 ft. in length, used as a storehouse for coal for heating the post.

"Two guardhouses at the Maurepas gate, one on the right and the other on the left, are built of masonry, 22 ft. 9 in. in length and 20 ft. 10 in. in width, with a gallery of 6 in. wide in front, and covered with shingles. The one on the right is divided into two parts; one of 18 ft. in width is for the use of the officer, and the other, of 7 ft., serves as a storeroom for the supplies of the post. At the rear there is also a lean-to of 21 ft. in length and 8 ft. 2 in. in width, built of wood, and used for the same purpose as the preceding.

"The other guard house on the left is set apart for the soldiers.

" Powder Magazines, Armoury, and other Buildings Used by the Artillery :

"The powder magazine on the Dauphin bastion has 30 feet 6 in. of length, and 34 ft. 8 in. of width, is built of masonry, with a bomb-proof vault, covered with shingles, and can hold 30,000 lbs. of powder by piling up the barrels as far as the vault allows, as is the case at present.

"The powder house on the platform of the Brouillan bastion was built by the English with brick of a half inch thickness, and covered with shingles. It is 45 ft. in length and 28 ft. 4 in. in width, surrounded by pallisades set at 12 ft. distance from its walls. It contains actually 98,000 lbs. of powder. The weak construction of this building has always made it dangerous.

"The armoury of 11 toises in length stands in the building numbered 41 on the plan and was built entirely of wood by the English, with 19 toises 3 ft. 6 in. in length and 5 toises 0 ft. 6 in. in width. It is furnished with four rows of arm racks, in which there are at present 4,018 guns.

"A shed standing opposite the building just named is built entirely of masonry, with a length of 28 toises and a width of 4 toises 8 in. It is covered with slate and is used to store gun carriages, platforms and such materials. Room has been made in this building for the forge and gunsmith.

" Other Buildings :

"At the foot of the interior slope at the angle of the flank of the Grève battery is a covered place (couvert) built entirely of wood, 21 feet in length and 12 in width.

"A similar covered building, at the angle of the left flank of the Maurepas bastion, is built entirely of wood, 13 ft. 9 in. in length and 7 ft. 9 in. in width.

"Another building like the preceding is placed at the angle of the flank of the Brouillan bastion and is 12 ft. 4 in. in length and 6 ft. in width.

"At the angle of the flank of the Princess's bastion is a small covered place for the use of the staff of the battery; it is raised to the height of the parapet of the right side of the bastion, for the purpose of exercising the gunners.

"Above the arch of the passage-way of the Queen's gate is a small building of 12 ft. 7 in. in length and 11 ft. 10 in. in width, built of masonry, and covered with slate. This building [adds the writer of the report] is not of any use at present; it has been intended as much to protect part of the arch of the gate's passage-way as to serve for munitions of war, and otherwise assist in the defence of this point.

"In the middle of the curtain between the Queen's and King's bastions is another building, over the arch of

the passage-way of a postern to the moat, constructed of masonry, 12 ft. in length and 18 ft. in width, and covered with slate. It is intended to answer the same purpose as the one last mentioned.

"Above the Maurepas gate is a small building, 12 ft. 7 in. in length and 11 ft. 10 in. in width, built of masonry and covered with slate. This building must have cost a good deal, on account of the quantity of freestone with which it is decorated, but at present it is falling to pieces and will be probably ere long pulled down and its materials used for other purposes.

"Ice-House:

"At the foot of the glacis of the angle of the right branch of the covered way of the entrance of the King's bastion is an ice-house of 22 ft. in diameter, built of masonry and covered with shingles.

"Vaults:

"Under each of the two flanks of the King's bastion are six underground vaults of 32 ft. in length and 12 ft. in width, and another extending from the two sides of the bastion. Altogether fourteen underground vaults, five of which are used as dungeons for prisoners.

"Wooden Sentry-Boxes:

"There are in the place forty-five sentry-boxes made of timber, placed at different parts of the rampart and in the interior of the town.

"Stone Sentry-Boxes:

"There are at the angles of the walls enclosing the different works within the place seven stone sentry-boxes.

"Sluices:

"There are in this place two sluices, one in the middle of the embankment (batardeau) of the Dauphin gate. Its passage of 2 ft. in width and 2 ft. 2 in. in height is closed by a sluice gate. It is used to drain the waters of the marsh which protects the curtain between the King's bastion and the Dauphin's bastion.

"The other is situated in the middle of the right face of the front, facing the port, with a passage of 3 ft. 6 in. in height and 2 ft. 8 in. in width; it serves at low tide to empty the waters of the pond.

"Wells:

"There are in the place nineteen wells, either public on the streets or private in the houses, all kept up at the expense of the king.

"Brewery:

"The allowance of beer each month for the soldiers renders a brewery necessary. As there was none in town at the time the French regained possession of the place, it was necessary to rent a house at the rate of 250 livres a year. But this house was a tumble-down affair, and it was necessary to build another, 8 toises 2 ft. 3 in. in length and 3 toises 4 ft. 3 in. in width, entirely of masonry, and furnish it with eight boilers. It stands on the street in the vicinity of the English barracks.

"A storehouse for wood and coal, required for the heating of the garrison, is situated on the edge of the pond opposite the wharf in that vicinity. The situation is exposed to the high tides, from which it is only protected by palisades, and was only chosen on account of the neighbourhood of the wharf and to avoid any long carriage.

"The king's garden is situated at the foot of the glacis of the left branch of the covered way of the entrance of the King's bastion, and surrounded by a picket fence. It is 30 toises 5 ft. in length and 21 toises 5 ft. in width

"Done at Louisbourg, 9th Oct., 1753."

[The signature to this document has been cut by the binder of the archives and cannot be read, but it was probably Commissary Prévost's. On the margin of the documents there are remarks as to the condition of the buildings, their furniture, and the accommodation they afforded. The writer states, in the course of his observations, that the garrison at that time (1753) was nominally composed of twenty-five companies of 50 men each, but five of these were constantly on duty elsewhere, even out of the island itself, and the total force was actually 1,000 men in barracks. The accommodation, according to the writer, was not sufficient for the comfort and convenience of the military. J. G. B.]

XVIII. STATEMENTS RESPECTING THE FISHERIES AND COMMERCE OF CAPE BRETON, 1745-1758.

From the "Archives Coloniales de la Marine," Paris. "Colonies—Isle Royale—General Correspondence—1775-1748—M. Bigot, Commissary," vol. xxvii, c. ii, folio 312.

"The importance of Cape Breton to the English nation is shown by the following computation (*supputation*) of the French fisheries, according to the latest data at hand.

"From the Gut of Canso down along the shore of Louisbourg, and from thence to the northeast part of Cape Breton, there was yearly employed at least 500 shallops. And these required, on sea and on shore, 5 men each, which amount to 2,500 men, and 60 brigantines, schooners and sloops, each of 15 men, making 900 men more, which together make 3,400 men.

"Allow the 500 shallops to catch 300 quintals of fish each in the summer season, and the whole is 150,000 quintals, and the 60 brigs, schooners, etc., each 600 quintals, which make 36,000 more. So that there is made at Cape Breton annually of fish 186,000 quintals.

“Now to carry this fish to Europe, to market, there must be employed 93 sail of ships of the burthen of 2,000 quintals each, one with the other, and each of these ships have at least 20 men, which are 1,860 seamen. And these, added to the 3,400 fishermen above, make 5,260 men employed at Cape Breton only in the fishery.

“At Gaspé, Quadre and other harbours mentioned in the following estimation there are six ships yearly, which, as they come out from France manned to catch their own cargoes of shallops, they haul up and leave in the country every winter, till they return the next spring, one with another may be allowed 60 hands. And it has always been allowed from St. Maloes and Granville they have at least 300 sail of these ships in the fishery, and fish at Petit Nord,¹ Fishante, Belle-Isle and the Gulph, which will, all computed as above (allowing those ships that so come out to make their own voyages to carry each 3,000 quintals), be as follows :

At Cape Breton	93	5,260	189,000
At Gaspay	6	360	18,000
At Quadre	6	360	18,000
At Port au Basques	6	360	18,000
At Les Foils [Trois?] Isles.....	3	180	9,000
St. Malo's men.....	300	18,000	900,000
	414	24,520	1,152,000

“Here it may be objected that of the 300 ships above from St. Malo (which they insist upon) some of them are of those ships above reckoned at Gaspay, Quadre, etc., which is well known to be so. But then no regard is here had to the ships so employed, among the rest, from St. Juan de Luz, Bayonne, Nantz, Havre de Grace, etc., which go annually into those parts on the same voyage, and are a great many more in number than those twenty-one ships above, and would, could an exact list be had, much swell the account.

“Besides all these there have been constantly from the river Sendre, Olone,² le Poitou, Havre, etc., 150 ships at least, the French say 200 sail, employed in the Mud Fishery or Mort Vert (as they call it) from sixteen to twenty-four men each, which carry home, upon an average, from 22,000 to 30,000 fish in number; which make, on the most moderate estimate, 150 sail of ships, and on a medium, at 20 men each, employ 3,000 men, and in the whole 3,900,000 fishes in Tale. These ships are fitted out in France for their voyages on the banks, and there tarry until they are laden, unless they meet with any disturbance, in which case they resort to Cape Breton for shelter and supplies, and from thence home to France. And it was thus frequent for them when they had made their voyages to go into Cape Breton for water especially, as they had no other port.

“In regard to the value of this branch of the trade it is necessary here to observe that there is hereby produced a large quantity of train oil, which France has always an immediate demand for at home for their woollen manufactures, lights, etc, and with which also their sugar colonies, that cannot do without it, are yearly supplied. It is certainly well known that they either do, or may at least make one hogshead of sixty gallons of oil, clear drawn off from the blubber, out of every hundred quintals of fish. And this, out of the quantity of fish before mentioned, will produce 11,490 hogsheads of oil. And, allowing that 4,000 fishes in number are equal to 100 quintals when cured, then the 3,900,000 mud fish, by the same rule, will yield 975 hogsheads of oil, which, added to the other, make 12,465 hogsheads of train oil, which are equal to 3,116 tons and a quarter.

“Now let the 1,149,000 quintals of fish be valued only at 10s. sterling per quintal, the	£	s.
prime cost usually at Newfoundland, and it is worth.....	574,500	00
“And to this allow 3s. sterling freight per quintal of it, in English bottoms, to market...	172,350	00
“And then the fish only is worth	746,850	00
“And let the 3,116 and quarter tons of oil be valued at £18 sterling per ton, the amount of it is	56,092	10
“As to the mud-fish, it is generally sold in France at 1,000 livres per 1,000 fish; and then at 11d. sterling per livre their value is	178,750	00
“And thus it appears that one year's fishery of the French only is worth, sterling.....	981,692	10

which great branch of trade in a manner depends entirely on their possession of the island of Cape Breton, as it is impossible to carry it on without some convenient harbour of strength, etc., to supply, support and protect it; and it is now with us to determine whether they shall enjoy it or not.”

[The foregoing computation of the French fishery (as I have given it) is found in English in “The Works of James Houstoun, M.D.,” (London, 1753, pp. 370-376). Houstoun's correspondent, who gives an account of the siege of 1745, says that the computation “was given to General Pepperrell on the spot by such of ourselves who, at Canso and Louisbourg, have been eye-witnesses of it, and from their captains, etc., of their ships at different occasional conversations on comparing the French fishery with the English, and transmitted by the General to Great Britain, for the consideration of his Majesty in Council and our British Parliament.” The computation appears to have appeared in various English pamphlets after the capture of Louisbourg in 1745. The following note on the subject from Dr. Justin Winsor corroborates the statement :

“‘The Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton, etc.,’ London, 1746 (which is by some attributed to Wm. Bollan), says, p. 84: ‘Having in my possession ‘A Computation of the French Fishery as it was managed before the Present War,’ I should have inserted it here if I had not met with it in a pamphlet lately printed at Exeter, entitled ‘An Accurate Journal and Account of the Proceedings of the New England Land Forces during the late Expedition against the French Settlements in Cape Breton.’

¹ Petit Nord was the name given to the northwestern waters and coast of Newfoundland. See Bellin's map of Terre-Neuve, Charlevoix, vol. ii. Quadre, Port aux Basques, Les Foils [Trois] Isles and Fishante were all places on that coast.

² Sables D'Olonne in France. The names in this computation are as a rule inaccurately given.

"'The Computation,' etc., is also referred to in 'The Great Importance of Cape Breton Demonstrated and Exemplified' (London, 1746), where (pp. 46-49), in a footnote, is given an extract from it, which corresponds exactly with the paragraphs in 'Dr. Houstoun's Memoirs,' which begin p. 370, 'From the Gut of Canso,' and end p. 376, at the bottom of the page."]

The following are extracts from the French archives, which give official and reliable information as to the value of the commerce and fisheries of Cape Breton at a later period than that in the mere computation or estimate just mentioned:

II.

"Ile Royale—General Correspondence—1753," vol. xxxiii, c. xi, folio 496.

"General statement of the vessels and shallops engaged in the fisheries of Ile Royale during the summer of 1752:

PLACE OF FISHERY.	On account of the inhabitants or vessels engaged in trade.	
	Sloops and schooners.	Shallops.
Louisbourg	46	24
Laurentbec .....	..	47
La Baleine.....	..	29
Le Petit Bras d'Or .....	..	11
Niganiche.....	..	16
L'Indienne .....	..	4
Scatari .....	..	14
Cabarus.....	..	3
	46	148

"We, the officers of the Admiralty at Louisbourg, certify to the accuracy of the foregoing statement this 10th of January, 1753.

"DE LA BORDE.

"NEYRACQ."

III.

"Ile Royale—General Correspondence—1753," vol. xxxiii, c. xi, folio 495.

"Addition to the foregoing letter of the officers of the Admiralty of the 10th of January, 1753.

"Statement of the vessels arrived for the fishing and trade of the island, and of those which have been fitted out for France, the islands of America, and Canada during 1752:

PORTS OF SAILING.	PLACES OF ARRIVAL.		
	Louisbourg.	Niganiche.	Petit Degras.
Bayonne	5	..	..
St. Jean de Luz	4	1	1
St. Malo.	10	3	..
Nantes.....	2	..	..
La Rochelle	6	..	..
Sables d'Olonne	4	..	..
Bordeaux	8	..	..
L'Orient	1	..	..
Cherbourg.....	1	..	..
Isles d'Amérique.....	57	..	..
Canada.....	17	..	..
Coasts of Boston [New England]...	156	..	..
	273	4	1

"Vessels fitted out at Ile Royale:

Europe.....	11
Canada.....	4
America	18
	<hr/>
	33

"We, the officers of the Admiralty at Louisbourg, certify to the accuracy of the foregoing statement.

"10th January, 1753.

"DE LA BORDE.

"NEYRACQ."

IV.

"Ile Royale—General correspondence, 1753—vol. 33, c. 11, folio 437.

"M. Prévost, intendant, 24th December, 1753, on the state of the fisheries and trade of the island. To the minister at Paris.

* * * * *

"You will see with pleasure that there is an increase in the fisheries of 1753 over those of 1752, since the total product is 98,450 quintals of codfish and 1,154½ barrels of oil. The general value of these fisheries ought to reach, according to the present estimate, the sum of 2,084,450 livres, which exceeds that of 1752 by 312,490 livres—the estimate for that year having been only 1,771,960 livres.

* * * * *

"The commerce with France shows an increase in the imports, which are valued at 1,063,337 livres 6 sous 2 deniers, and the exports at 735,805 livres 12 sous 2 deniers, or 327,531l. 14s. less than the imports. It does not, however, follow that this whole sum is owing to the kingdom. The people of the island have an interest in the cargoes of the ships from France, and a large quantity of goods is sent for sale on commission to supply the warehouses during the winter. It is quite possible, however, that the colonial merchants still owe something every year to their agents in France, who are frequently in the habit of making them advances. But this cannot be done on a very considerable scale, for I have heard of no complaints on this score.

"Canada has not exported any goods during this year to the colony, but she has imported them to the value of 111,157l. 19s. This amount has not yet been returned on account of an arrangement made for bills of exchange in October. The correspondents of our merchants, however, hold out hopes that they will make remittances next spring. It is to be hoped that this will be the case, for such delays can only tend to lower credit and derange trade.

"You will also notice, my Lord, that the imports of merchandise from the Windward and Leeward islands have reached the sum of 1,112,883l. 3s., and the exports to the same, 673,863l. 19s. 6d. The imports consequently exceed the exports by 439,019l. 3s. 6d. This excess will always exist on account of the considerable equipment that the people make nowadays for the islands. The outlays being of little importance compared with the returns, especially when they make good voyages, it is absolutely necessary that the outfits of the spring form an important item in the imports. Here we clearly see something of the advantages of the trade between Cape Breton, Martinique and Gaudaloupe. This year the number of sails for these parts of America have been exceptionally large. Many sloops and schooners [batteaux et goëlettes¹] have been fitted out, and there are still some ready to go out in January and February. They are only waiting to sail until the supply of cod made this autumn is exhausted.

"This trade would be extremely lucrative and advantageous to this country, if the vessels of western Newfoundland (Petit Nord) and Gaspé had not undertaken to send, since two or three years, a great quantity of codfish into the islands, and there is no other way of sustaining Ile Royale than by imposing a tax on American fish or by increasing it on the fish of North Bay and Gaspé.

"As to the English trade, I have obeyed your orders, and you will see also by the statements you have asked for that the imports exceed the exports by 253,398l. 30s. 1d., including the price of the vessels bought, viz., 284,230l., in the place of 270,000l., as estimated at first. . . . As respects the purchase of vessels, our merchants still owe the English on this account 129,300l., which is to be paid in the month of June next year in the shape of rum and syrups."

¹ Chabert ("Relation du Voyage sur les Côtes de l'Amérique Septentrionale," pp. 44, 113) says that a batteau had a tonnage of from 80 to 100, and only one mast (a sloop in fact); a goëlette was about the same size, but had two masts. This class was chiefly used in the Cape Breton fisheries. A chaloupe was a large undecked fishing boat, with two masts and three sails, and fitted for rowing; generally like the "whale-boats" in use now on the coasts of the island.

The following important table—which I translate also into English—is appended to the foregoing report:

ISLE ROYALE 1853.	PESCHE DE MORUE COD FISHING				COMMERCE TRADE					
	Habitans Belonging to the Island.		Vaisseaux To other places.		Vaisseaux venus de France Vessels from France		Batimens des habitans pour le cabotage et le com- merce	Bati- ments venus du Canada	Bati- ments venus des Isles de l'Améri- que	Bati- ments venus de la Nouvelle Angle- terre
	Chaloupes Shallops	Goëlettes Schooners	Chaloupes Shallops	Goëlettes Schooners	En Traité et Pesche Trading and Fishing	En Traité seulement Trading only	Vessels of the Island, coasting & trading	Can- adian vessels	Vessels from the Islands of America	Vessels from New England
Havres ou se fait la pesche et le commerce Harbours in which the fisheries and trading have been carried on.										
Daspé.....										
Anse du Ridsagne. . .										
Nagassou.....										
Niganiche.	17		25		3					
Port Dauphin.....							1			
Petit Bras dor.....	16									
L'Indienne.....	5									
Scatary.....	16		4	1	2					
La Baleine.....	18									
Petit Laurentbec....	51		3		1					
Louisbourg.....	19	35	9	13	10	37	57		54	150
Baye de Gabory.	3									
Havre à fourché.										
Saint Esprit.....	9									
Archéoui.....										
Isles Michaux.....										
Petit Degras.....	24									
Nerichac.										
Port Toulouze.							14			
Isle St. Jean.....	25						8			
Isles de la Magdeleine	2	1								
L'Ardoise.	4									
Total.	209	36	41	14	16	37	80		54	150
REMARQUES.	RÉCAPITULATION DE LA PESCHE DE 1753.									
Quoy qu'il y ait des ports sur cette carte où il n'y a point des chaloupes portées il y en a cependant plu- sieurs qui y ont fait la pesche d'automne.	250 chaloupes des habitans et vaisseaux ont peschées pendant l'été de la présente année 1753 et 230 qtaux—l'uns portant l'autre 57500 qtaux.									
	50 Batteaux et Goëlettes des habitans et Vaux ont peschés pendt idem 720 qtaux—L'uns portant l'autre 36000 “									
	110 chaloupes des habitans ont fait pendt l'automne de l'année d're a 49 qtaux—L'une portant L'autre..... 4950 “									
	Les 98450 quinteaux de Morüe ont produit à Raison d'une Barrique d'huile par 100 quintaux..... 984½ barriques.									
	Et il a été fait aux Isles de la Magdeleine par la tuerie des vaches mari- nes..... 170 “									
	1154½ “									
Il y a eu 5 Batimens de construit cette an- née dans l'Isle et 34 goëlettes et Batteaux et un navire achetés des Anglais. Fait à Louisbourg ce 24 xbre. 1873. Prévost.	Produit de la pesche en France :— 98450 quinteaux de morüe ont produit à 20 liv. le quintal cy 1,969,000 liv. 1154 barriques d'huile de poisson à 100 liv. la Barrique..... 115,450 “ Total 2,084,450 “									
REMARKS.	SUMMARY OF THE FISHERIES IN 1753.									
Though there are some ports on this ta- ble where no shallops are given, nevertheless in several of them a fall fishing was carried on.	250 shallops of the Island and elsewhere have fished during the summer of the present year and each has caught on the average 250 quintals. 57,500 quintals.									
	50 sloops and schooners of the Island and elsewhere have fished during the same time, each averaging 720 qtls..... 36,000 “									
	110 shallops of the Island have fished in the fall, each averaging 49 qtls. 4,950 “									
	The 98,450 qtls of codfish (enumerated above) have produced at the rate of one barrel of oil for 100 qtls 984½ barrels.									
	At the Magdalen Islands, the sea-cows have produced 170 “									
	1145½ “									
Five ships were built this year in the island and 34 schooners and sloops, and one vessel bought from the Eng- lish. Done at Louis- bourg this 24th of De- cembr, 1753. Prévost.	Product of the fisheries in France :— 98,450 qtls of codfish have brought @ 20 liv. the qtl..... 1,969,000 liv. 11,54 barrels of oil @ 100 liv. the barrel..... 115,450 “ Total 2,084,450 “									
	[A livre in this year was worth about 1 franc 66 cents. (See Cheruel, Dictionnaire historique des Institutions de la France, art. Monnaie). In English sterling the value of the catch of 1753 was about £50,000.]									

The foregoing documents have been copied from the Colonial archives, under the direction of M. Gambecq, to whom and Mr. Hector Fabre, Agent-General of Canada, at Paris, the author is under obligations.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The "Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle," (London), for 1745 and 1758, contains several short accounts of the two sieges of Louisbourg (see vols. 15 and 28) and contemporary opinion of the importance of Cape Breton. In vol. 28 there is a reproduction of part of Gridley's survey of the city and harbour of Louisbourg. — It is necessary to correct a statement made on p. 151 of the critical notes to this work. The same magazine (vol. 28) contains extracts from poems by Rev. Mr. Pullein and Valentine Nevil on the taking of Louisbourg, the latter written "on board the Oxford man-of-war in that harbour." — Parkman's recent work, "A Half-Century of Conflict," gives in the Appendix, "Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg contenant une Relation exacte et circonstanciée de la prise de l'Isle Royale par les Anglois." (See *supra*, pp. 43, 150). The account of the siege of 1745 by Parkman is the same that appeared in the "Atlantic Monthly" for 1891. See *supra*, p. 150). — On p. 63, *supra*, line 4 from top, read "New England" for "England" — On p. 80, 10th line from foot, for *Frederick Wallis Desbarres*, read Major F. Wallet DesBarres. — To App. XV should be added "Acadia" by F. S. Cozzens, (New York, 1859), in which there is a pleasing description of Louisbourg, and Cape Breton scenery. — Abbé Casgrain in "Montcalm and Lévis," (Quebec, 1891), has a valuable account of the siege of 1758, with an eclectic plan.

LOUISBOURG.



VILLAGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1891.



RUINS OF CASEMATES AT LOUISBOURG, 1891.

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